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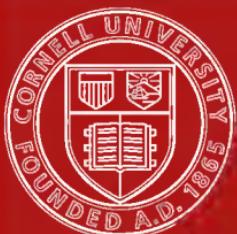


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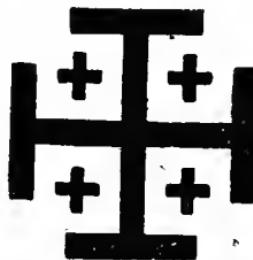
WALTER BESANT, M.A.

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*ANONYMOUS PILGRIMS,*

*I., II., III., IV., V., VI., VII., VIII.*

(11TH AND 12TH CENTURIES.)



*PRINTED FOR SUBSCRIBERS ONLY:*

24, HANOVER SQUARE, W.

1894.

# PALESTINE PILGRIMS' TEXT SOCIETY.

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sentences, scattered about among the writings of the Early Fathers, in the Byzantine and earliest Arab historians. Very few of these Pilgrims have as yet appeared in an English form, and no serious attempt has ever been made to search the Byzantine and Arab historians and the Early Fathers for their topographical allusions and illustrations. Many of them, however, give details of the highest importance in matters connected with the topography of Jerusalem, the positions of the holy sites, etc. It is proposed to begin with the Pilgrims, to take them one by one, to translate, annotate, and issue them, each separately, and as fast as the funds at the disposal of the Council will allow. All the publications are annotated.

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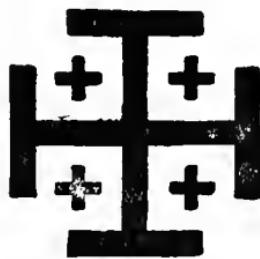
VOL. VI.

ANONYMOUS PILGRIMS.

THE CITY OF JERUSALEM AND ERNOUL'S ACCOUNT OF  
PALESTINE.

THE GUIDE BOOK TO PALESTINE.

DESCRIPTION OF THE HOLY LAND. BY JOHN POLONER.



LONDON :  
24, HANOVER SQUARE, W.  
1897.



# Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.

## ANONYMOUS PILGRIMS, I.-VIII.

(11TH AND 12TH CENTURIES.)

Translated  
BY  
AUBREY STEWART, M.A.  
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LONDON:  
24, HANOVER SQUARE, W.  
1894.

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## P R E F A C E.

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IN translating the ‘Anonymous Pilgrims,’ I have made use of Tobler’s text and useful notes for all except those marked V. (1 and 2) and VI. I have also had the advantage of consulting a MS. translation by Surgeon-General R. F. Hutchinson, M.D., Bengal Army (retired), whose work has been carried out in a scholarly fashion.

For V. (1 and 2) and VI. I have used the version to be found in the ‘Oesterreichischer Vierteljahresschrift für Katholische Theologie,’ Vienna, 1868 and 1870, with notes by W. Neumann.

None of these pilgrimages, it will be observed, are later than the fall of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem; and though they may not yield many new facts, yet the study of them enables us to form a clearer notion of the state of the Holy Land under the Frankish kings. It will be worth the reader’s while to compare them all, especially I. and VII., with ‘*La Citez de Jherusalem*.’

AUBREY STEWART.

LONDON, *January 8, 1894.*



# ANONYMOUS PILGRIMS.

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## ANONYMOUS PILGRIM I.

*(Part early, part 11th century.)*

HERE BEGINNETH THE DESCRIPTION OF THE HOLY PLACES.

I. WHOSO from the western parts of the world wishes to go to Jerusalem, let him keep his face ever toward the rising of the sun, and he will find the places of prayer at Jerusalem even as they are here set down.

II. In Jerusalem there is a chamber<sup>1</sup> covered with one single stone, wherein Solomon wrote his Book of Wisdom. There, too; the blood of Zacharias was shed between the temple and the altar. Not far from this place is the stone to which the Jews come every year, anoint it, lament, and so go wailing away. There is the house of Hezekiah, King of Judah, to whom the Lord granted thrice five years of life. There also is the house of Caiaphas, and the pillar to which Christ was bound, and was scourged and buffeted. Near the Gate of Neapolis<sup>2</sup> is Pilate's judgment hall, where Christ was judged by the chief priests. Not far from thence is Golgotha, or the place of Calvary, where Christ the Son of God was crucified, where the first man

<sup>1</sup> Bordeaux Pilgrim, p. 21, et al.

<sup>2</sup> Now the Damascus Gate.

Adam was buried, and where Abraham offered sacrifice to God. About a long stone's throw from thence toward the west is the place where Joseph of Arimathaea buried the sacred body of the Lord Jesus. There is a church beautifully built by the Emperor Constantine. From Mount Calvary it is thirteen feet toward the west to the middle of the world : on the left hand is the prison wherein Christ is said to have been shut up. On the right (left) hand of the sepulchre, and hard by it, there is a Latin monastery dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, built on the place where her house once stood. In this same inonastery there is an altar on the place where Mary the Lord's mother stood, and Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalen with her, weeping and grieving because they saw the Lord upon the cross. Here Jesus said to His mother, 'Woman, behold thy son,' and to the disciple, 'Behold thy mother.' Two bow-shots from this place toward the east is the Lord's temple, which was built by Solomon, and wherein Christ was presented by the just Simeon. On the right-hand side of this temple Solomon built his own temple, and between the two temples he built a beauteous portico with marble columns. To the left is the sheep-pool.

III. About a mile from thence to the eastward may be seen the Mount of Olives, where the Lord Jesus prayed to His Father, saying, 'Father, if it be possible,' etc., and wrote the Lord's Prayer on a stone, and whence He ascended to heaven, saying to His disciples, 'Go, teach all nations,' etc. Between the Lord's temple and the Mount of Olives is the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where the Virgin Mary was buried by the Apostles, and in which valley the Lord shall judge the world. Near to it is the village called Gethsemane, and there, hard by, beyond the brook Cedron, is the garden where Judas betrayed the Lord Jesus. Near that place is the sepulchre of the prophet Isaiah. A mile

from thence is Bethany, where the Lord raised up Lazarus after he had been dead four days. In the same quarter, some thirteen or eighteen miles on the way to Jeicho, is the sycamore-tree into which Zacchaeus climbed that he might see the Lord Jesus. On another side, one mile distant from Jericho, is Elisha's Fountain, which he blessed and sprinkled with salt. Five miles from thence is the river Jordan, wherein the Lord was baptized, being eight leagues distant from Jerusalem. Not far from thence is the mount from which Elijah was caught up into heaven.

IV. From the Jordan it is an eight days' journey to Mount Sinai, where the Lord appeared to Moses in the burning bush and gave him the law. At this place there is a great water-pot,<sup>1</sup> which unceasingly runs with oil. Three

<sup>1</sup> *Hydria.* The legend appears in Thietmar in a confused fashion. In ch. viii. he says *Desiderio autem desiderans desiderantissime corpus beate Katerine, sacro sudans oleo, visitare, etc.* In ch. xxiii. he gives an account of how the monks proposed to leave St. Catharine's Convent, because there was no oil to feed the lamps, but were recalled by the Virgin Mary, who appeared to them saying, 'Redite, quia hydriam, in qua oleum deponere consuevistis, invenietis oleo indeficiente repletam. Nunquam enim oleum ab illa hydria videbitis defecisse. Redierunt ergo et juxta verbum domine nostre ydriam oleo fecundam jugiter invenerunt. Hanc igitur ydriam vidi, et de ejus oleo habui, et in magna veneracione habetur.' Tobler quotes the following passage from Peter Tudebove: 'Jordanis a flumine est via decem et octo dierum usque in montem Sinai, ubi Christus Dominus Moysi in igne rubi apparuit, et ei legem dedit: et ibi est hydria magna in monasterio, quae non deficiens oleum parturit' (P. Tudebove, p. 414, ed. De Vogüé). This agrees almost word for word with our anonymous pilgrim. We read in Fabri, vol. ii., p. 551, that the monks of Sinai made up their minds to leave the place, and were recalled by a miraculous apparition of the Virgin, but Brother Nicodemus, who told Fabri the legend, had a different version to that of Thietmar, for he said that the cause of their proposed abandonment of the place was the enormous increase of serpents, vipers, toads, and other venomous creatures therein, and that the Virgin, in testimony of the truth of her appearance to them, caused a spring of water to burst forth from the hard rock, and also cleared away all the reptiles, etc. Not a word about oil in this story: yet we

days' journey distant from Jerusalem is Mount Tabor, whereon the Lord was transfigured. At the foot of this mountain is said to be Galilee and the Sea of Tiberias, which is not a sea, but a lake out of which the Jordan flows.

V. On the right-hand side of the city of Jerusalem, about a bow-shot distant, is Mount Sion, whereon is a church built by Solomon. Here the Lord Jesus supped with His disciples, and here also He sent down upon them the Holy Ghost. Here also the Virgin Mary passed away from this world and yielded up her spirit. The Apostles bore her most sacred body from hence into the Valley of Jehoshaphat. At the foot of this mount the Fountain of Siloam bursts abruptly forth from the ground.

VI. Not far from thence is Sichem, where Joseph sought for his brethren when he came from the Vale of Hebron. There is the land which Jacob gave to Joseph his son, and there his body rests. A mile from thence is Sichar, where the Lord talked with the woman of Samaria. Not far from thence is the place where Jacob wrestled with the angel.

VII. Four miles distant from Jerusalem, to the southward, is Bethlehem, the city of David, where Christ was born. At Bethlehem there is a church built with pillars of marble, wherein is the place where Christ was born. Not

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read (Fabri, vol. ii., p. 606) that St. Catharine's body was found in a niche of rock which was full of oil ; and (p. 601) Fabri says : 'The sacred bones seem to have lain in oil, because they are not white, but are of the colour which a bone or piece of wood contracts by lying in oil. It is the belief of Holy Church that the virgin's limbs once sweated forth oil ; but this miracle has now ceased for a long while, and the holy limbs are swathed in silk, pieces of which are given to the pilgrims instead of oil. They soak these pieces of silk in the lamps which hang in the chapel of St. Mary at Bush, and so take them home as St. Catharine's oil.' In Thietmar, ch. xxvii., we find : 'episcopus accessit ad sarcophagum beate Katrine. Quo aperto, dedit mihi de oleo ejusdem virginis.' Thietmar was at Sinai A.D. 1217. Compare Ernoul, p. 55, Sir John Maundeville's account of Mount Sinai, ch. v., and also Fabri, vol. i., part 2, p. 565, in this series.

far from hence, on the right hand, is the Lord's manger. Twelve miles from thence is Abraham's castle, which is called Thocor,<sup>1</sup> where Abraham himself, Isaac, and Jacob are buried together with their wives. On the left is the mount called *Dominus vidit*, where the Lord talked with Abraham, and where Abraham would have sacrificed his son Isaac.

## ANONYMOUS PILGRIM II.

(12th century.)

I. THOSE who go by the upper way from Accaron<sup>2</sup> to the Holy City come to the city of Nazareth. Two leagues from thence is Mount Tabor, where Christ was transfigured. Near this same place is the city of Tiberias, by which is the Sea of Galilee, where the Lord wrought many miracles. About two leagues above it is the 'Table,'<sup>3</sup> where the Lord satisfied five thousand men with five loaves and two fishes. Next comes the city of Sebaste, to be revered because of the relics of St. John the Baptist. From hence one goes to the well whereon the Lord sat when He talked with the woman of Samaria.

II. Thence one goes into the Holy City, and first into St. Stephen's Church, on the place where he was stoned. Thence one goes into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; and first to the place of Calvary, where Christ suffered, where pilgrims, after they have worshipped Him crucified, cast down their crosses on the earth again in token that

<sup>1</sup> Tekoa. Probably a copyist's error. The castle was at Hebron.

<sup>2</sup> Acre. See Tobler's note to Theoderich, ch. xlvi., where he warns his readers not to confuse Accon, near Nazareth, with Accaron, the Old Testament Ekron, and quotes Thietmar's couplet, *Non est urbs Accaron quam quilibet aestimat Achon : illa Philistaca, Ptolemaida dicitur ista.* But these names seem soon to have been confused, for Accaron here is clearly Acre, as it is in Theoderich, ch. li. ; cf. Poloner, *De civitatibus et locis Terrae Sanctae*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> See Anon. vi., p. 54, and Tobler's note on Theoderich, ch. xlv.

they have accomplished their vow.<sup>1</sup> From hence one goes to Golgotha, where the Lord's blood flowed down and the rock was rent. Thence one goes to an altar which is believed to rest upon a piece of the column to which Christ was bound and scourged. There, down a descent close by, is the place where the holy cross was found, which is in a crypt beneath an overhanging rock. The altar in the middle is dedicated to St. Helena, and that on the left to St. Quiriacus, whose name was also Judas, who showed the cross to the dead man, and, on seeing the miracle of his being brought to life again, was converted, and was made Bishop of Jerusalem. In the midst of the canons' choir there is a place which deserves especial reverence, for that Christ, after He was taken down from the cross, was laid there before He was borne to the sepulchre. Here a light is always kept burning. The high altar is dedicated to St. Mary. After this one goes to the holy sepulchre. This has an altar on the south (north side), and a fair church dedicated to the Holy Cross, wherein the holy cross is kept. Near this is another church, which belongs to the Syrians, wherein they also keep a holy cross. Almost at the end of the church, on the south (north) side, is the place which is called 'the Prison,' where Christ was shut up while the gallows or cross was being made ready on the mount. Beneath the five columns of the church are buried the Forty Martyrs, whom we know by their feast being held on the 8th<sup>2</sup> of March. Near the

<sup>1</sup> The text has *Ubi tanquam voti compotes, adorato crucifixo, crucis scilicet tres quasi reconsignant.* By reading *terrae* instead of *tres* the sentence becomes intelligible. We learn from Theoderich (ch. xii.) that pilgrims started from their homes bearing crosses in their hands ; that after they had reached the Church of the Holy Sepulchre these crosses were placed on the rock of Mount Calvary, and that they were burned every year on Easter Even.

<sup>2</sup> The Roman Calendar has, however, 'vii. Idus Mart. (March 9). Bosa, Ep. et Conf., Quadraginta Milites, M.M.'

place of Calvary there is a place the door into which is closed. In it Jerome says that Adam was buried. Some also say that Adam received (from the cross) in his mouth the drops of blood which ran down, and was thereby raised from the dead.<sup>1</sup> There are three little chapels adjoining the church on the south side, whereof that which is nearest to the church is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and the furthest one, which looks into the street, is dedicated to St. James the Great. It is said that the Lord sat in the place where the middle altar is, and that St. John sat on His right hand and St. James on His left, what time their mother begged that they might sit one on His right hand and one on His left in His kingdom. It is also said that St. John stood on the spot where his altar is when Christ commended His mother to Him. The most blessed Virgin herself stood watching her Son's Passion on the spot where now is the high altar of the church. Without the great church, by the side of Calvary, there is a little chapel dedicated to Mary Magdalen, on the place where the three Marys stood at the time of the Passion.

III. The Church of St. John the Baptist stands almost opposite, facing the great church, and is worthy of honour both because of its most holy relics and its exceeding famous charities. There one may see that there are six (? seven)<sup>2</sup> works of mercy to be performed. Near it is the Church of St. Mary the Latin, which is notable for its antiquity and for the honour due to its relics. Therein is St. Philip's head and some of St. Mary's hair.

<sup>1</sup> See Theoderich, pp. 10 and 20, and Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, s.v. 'Golgotha.'

<sup>2</sup> The official Catechism of the Roman Catholic Church reckons seven 'corporal works of mercy,' as follows: 1. To feed the hungry; 2. To give drink to the thirsty; 3. To clothe the naked; 4. To harbour the harbourless; 5. To visit the sick; 6. To visit the imprisoned; 7. To bury the dead. Matt. xxv. 35, 36; cf. Tobit, xii.

IV. On Mount Sion is the place where the Holy Ghost appeared on the Apostles in fiery tongues and enlightened their hearts. There (Christ) washed the disciples' feet and let Thomas feel His side. There also Christ supped. There is the very table whereon He supped. Before the door is the place which is called the 'Place of the Holy Ghost.' On the south side is the place which is called Galilee,<sup>1</sup> where He said : 'I will go before you into Galilee.' Over against this, on the north side, is the place where the blessed Mary departed from this world. At the end of this side, toward the east, there is an altar beneath which St. Stephen,<sup>2</sup> Gamaliel, Abybas, and Nicodemus are buried. Without the churchyard, on the north, there is a church dedicated to St. Peter, on the place where the judgment-hall is said to have been. Without the city there is a church which is called 'the Church of St. Peter at the Cock-crowing,' on the place where, after his third denial and the crowing of the cock, he hid himself and wept bitterly. Within the walls also there is a church of 'St. Peter of the Fetters,' at the place where Herod kept him bound with two chains.

V. As one comes back to the Lord's temple, the first place with which one meets is that of the holy Presentation. Hard by it is the place where Jacob slept and saw the ladder, and wrestled with the angel, and set up a stone for a pillar.<sup>3</sup> Beneath the choir, on the south side, there is a crypt hewn out of the rock, which is called the 'Place of Confession,' because it was there that Christ met the woman to whom He said : 'No man hath condemned thee,' etc. At the head of the temple is St. James's Chapel,

<sup>1</sup> See Fabri, vol. i., part 2, pp. 481, 482; Fetellus, p. 4, in this series.

<sup>2</sup> Fabri, i. 310. See the note 'Stephen' in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible.

<sup>3</sup> Fabri, vol. ii., p. 145, note; Theod., ch. xv.; John of Würzburg, ch. x.

which stands on the place where he was cast down and slain with a fuller's club. This James, the son of Alphaeus, was the first Bishop of Jerusalem. Not far off are shown the Golden Gates, through which the Lord entered Jerusalem when He came from the Mount of Olives riding upon an ass, while the children cried out: 'Hosanna to the Son of David!' These gates are only opened on Palm Sunday and on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Next one sees the spot where is the cradle<sup>1</sup> and the bath and Simeon's tomb, at the place where Christ Himself is said to have dwelt with Simeon for a year and a half.

VI. Near the city gate, looking into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, is the Church of St. Anne, the mother of St. Mary, whom she bore and nursed while dwelling there. Near it is the sheep-pool, which has five arches. This is the place where the wood of the cross long furnished a passage to those who went to the pool, albeit the Templars show another pool which they say is the sheep-pool. From thence one goes into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where is St. Mary's sepulchre. There, just before the door of the monastery, is the place called Gethsemane, where Judas betrayed him. There is the rock which is said to have yielded to the pressure of his fingers.<sup>2</sup> In this same chapel there are four separate places, where He found His disciples sleeping, three in each place. Without the churchyard,<sup>3</sup> about a bow-shot distant, there is a church dedicated to the Saviour, built on the place where He thrice prayed and His bloody sweat dropped from Him. Near the Convent of Jehoshaphat runs the brook Cedron.

<sup>1</sup> See Anon. vii. and 'The City of Jerusalem' in this series, ch. xiv., p. 15; Fetellus, p. 3, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> See *post*, p. 25; Fabri i. 476; also Tobler's note, in his edition of Theoderich, p. 245. 'Theoderich,' by T. Tobler, St. Gall and Paris, 1865.

<sup>3</sup> *Atrium*: properly the enclosed courtyard before the church door, as at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

There also, in the place where the hermits dwell,<sup>1</sup> there is a church dedicated to St. James. At the end of the Valley of Jehoshaphat is Aceldama, the field which was bought with the thirty pieces of silver to bury strangers in ; for no one is denied burial therein.

VII. As pilgrims go up the Mount of Olives they first come to the church which is called the Church of the Pater-noster, because it stands where Christ taught His disciples the Lord's Prayer. There is a stone beneath the altar whereon He Himself wrote the Lord's prayer with His finger. Next comes the Church of St. Pelagia<sup>2</sup> the virgin. The Place of the Ascension is to be seen in the church which is built on the top of the mount. Close by it is Bethphage. From thence one goes to Bethamy. From Bethamy one goes to the Jordan, and first to Jericho, where is the garden of Abraham.<sup>3</sup> Here flows the stream from the fountain of Elia(s) . . . in the place where there were twelve wells and seventy palm-trees. To the left as one comes thither there is a place fortified<sup>4</sup> by religious persons, which place

<sup>1</sup> 'The City of Jerusalem,' ch. xxiv.; Poloner, p. 238, in Tobler's 'Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae.'

<sup>2</sup> See Antoninus, ch. xvi.; Theoderich, Tobler's edition, note, pp. 245, 247; Anon. Pilgrim v., i, p. 25; vii., p. 73; and Fabri, i. 499, in this series.

<sup>3</sup> Abraham's garden. Tobler refers the reader to Theoderich, ch. xxviii., where in his note I find references to his 'Topographie' (vol. ii., pp. 559, 573), to Werlauf's 'Symbolae ad Geographiam (campi Abrahami, 31), to Anon. ii., ch. 7, iv., ch. 8, and vii., *fin.*; and to the French Anonymous Pilgrim quoted in his 'Topographie,' ii. 1002, and to Odoricus (ed. Laurent), p. 156. See also his note to Innom. vii. (in 'Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae,' Leipsic, 1874), p. 413, where he remarks that this garden of Abraham was, in the time of the Crusaders, still a palm-grove, and seems to have been identical with the *campus sacer* or *ager domini* of Antoninus, ch. xiii. Compare the note to Anon. v., 1, ch. xi.

<sup>4</sup> Theoderich, ch. xxix., says 'the crest of Mount Quarantana and its subterranean caves are full of victuals and arms belonging to the Templars, who can have no stronger fortress, or one better suited for the annoyance of the infidels' (p. 47 in this series).

is called Quarantena, because Christ fasted there for forty days. At the top of the mount is the place where Satan tempted Him. From thence one goes to the Jordan.

VIII. There is also a place without the city of Jerusalem, which is called the 'charnel-house of the lion,' where rest the bodies of many saints. Beyond this there is a monastery of Georgians, called 'At Stump' or 'At Stock,'<sup>1</sup> because the wood of the holy cross is said to have been cut down at that place. The altar stands on the place where the stump was. On the road which leads to Bethlehem is Rachel's tomb, and the place where Elias is revered, and a church dedicated to him is built there. There is the place where the Lord was born . . . . there Jerome is buried. There are many relics of the Holy Innocents. Not far off is the place which is called *Gloria in excelsis*, because when the Lord was born the angels were heard there singing 'Glory to God in the highest.' As one goes to St. Abraham<sup>2</sup> at Hebron, one first meets with the root of the oak of (Mount) Mamre. At this place also there is now a church dedicated to the Holy Trinity.<sup>3</sup> At Hebron is the place where Cain killed his brother Abel. There also is the mount where each of them made offerings of their first-fruits to the Lord. There also is shown the earth whereof Adam was made. Returning, one must pass through the Church of St. John Baptist, on the spot where he himself preached in the wilderness baptism and repentance. At that place there is an unfailing spring of water, which burst forth at his prayer at the time of his preaching. From hence one goes to St. Zachariah, to the place where he and St. Elizabeth used to dwell when he had fulfilled his duty as priest. It was there that the Blessed Mary greeted St. Elizabeth, and the Babe leaped in her womb. From thence one goes by the castle called Emmaus into the Hoiy City.

<sup>1</sup> Ad Truncum sive Stipitem.

<sup>2</sup> See note, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> See Tobler's note to Theoderich, ch. xxxiv.

IX. Near the city is the place Gion, where now there is a monastery of Greeks. On the left hand, near the Mount of Olives, there is a monastery of Syrians. In the valley between the Mount of Olives and Mount Gion . . . . On the Mount of Olives there is (?) can be seen) the lake which is called the Dead Sea, where the four cities of the Sodomites, Gomorrha and the rest of them, were swallowed up. Jordan enters into that lake and is lost therein.

X. In the city there is a monastery of Jacobites,<sup>1</sup> wherein is the head of St. James and the arm of St. Stephen the first martyr. The Jacobites also own the church of St. Mary Magdalen, where they show some of her hair. In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the gate which looks towards the chapel belonging to the Syrians, wherein they keep the holy cross, is that very door at which St. Mary of Egypt<sup>2</sup> stood, and could not enter save after true repentance.

### ANONYMOUS PILGRIM III.

(12th century.)

#### THIS IS THE WAY TO THE HOLY LAND.

I. FIRST from the port of Brindisi,<sup>3</sup> which is a city in the kingdom of Apulia, one crosses the sea, a journey of three days and three nights, to the city of Clarence,<sup>4</sup> which stands in the isle of Romania. Here there is clear and excellent wine, and grassy hills, and abundance of sweet air; and in that isle there are one hundred and twenty-three good cities, and fair women. From Clarence one travels one hundred miles by sea to the castle of the city of Thoron,

<sup>1</sup> See Ricoldus, ch. xvii., p. 124, in Laurent: 'Quatuor mediæ aevi peregrinatores.' Hamburg, 1864.

<sup>2</sup> See Willis's 'Holy Sepulchre,' p. 102; Anon. iv. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Brandicia.* Saewulf calls it *Brandia*.

<sup>4</sup> See Fabri, vol. i., p. 183, note

where there is a good isle, vineyards, many towns, hills, and groves.

II. From Thoron one goes by sea to the city of Candia, which is in an isle belonging to the Greeks, three hundred miles further. In this isle there are twelve excellent cities, good vineyards, fertile trees that bear precious gums, divers herbs and aromatic drugs, and much wealth in jewels and rich raiment. From Candia one goes by sea six hundred miles to Cyprus, which is a city on an exceeding high mountain and a little isle, having only nine cities, and good vineyards and divers shrubs. From Cyprus one goes by sea one hundred miles to the port of the city of Baffa, which has dominion over more than one hundred and twelve isles of the sea. There are excellent vineyards, and aromatic herbs, and precious stones, divers kinds of merchandise, cunning workmen, and beauteous women, skilled in needle-work, and exceeding devout. At this place St. Mark the Evangelist preached and wrought many miracles. Moreover, it is two days' journey by land from Bapha (*sic*) to Lymatzu (Limasol), which is the capital city of the order of St. John the Baptist, and also of the order of Knights Templars.<sup>1</sup> Also from Lymatzu to the city of Famagusta is one day's journey by sea, and there is the capital of the Order of St. Lazarus<sup>2</sup> and of the Holy Ghost. Also from Nicosia

<sup>1</sup> *Locus capitalis sancti Johannis Baptistae et etiam ordinis templariorum.* Probably when this was written the Christians had been driven out of the Holy Land. According to Fuller ('Holy Warre,' Book iii., ch. 7), 'King Richard . . . pawned the island to the Templars for ready money.' Mrs. Batson Joyner, in her edition of Herr von Loher's account of Cyprus (London, Allen and Co., 1878), says that the Templars established themselves at Limasol in the reign of Guy de Lusignan. I find no mention of the Hospitallers there. For an account of the connection of the Templars with Cyprus, and especially with Limasol, see Florio Bustron's 'Chronicle of the Isle of Cyprus,' edited by Réne de Mas Latrie, Paris, 1886, p. 169, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The Order of St. Lazarus is often confused with that of the Hospitallers, but was nevertheless an older and distinct organization.

one goes by sea one hundred miles to the city of Cypris. And in that island there are one hundred and thirty cities and good castles, excellent sweet wine, handsome, strong and brave men, and a great and exceeding rich kingdom. There St. Patrick<sup>1</sup> wrought many miracles in his lifetime,

The fact of its headquarters having been at Cyprus is mentioned in ‘The City of Herod and Saladin,’ by E. H. Palmer and W. Besant, p. 274. But the ‘Histoire des Ordres Religieux’ says of these knights that ‘aiant este chasses de la Terre Sainte l'an 1253 ils suivirent le Roi Saint Löuis, qui, en reconnoissance des services qu'ils lui avaient rendus en Orient, confirma les Donations que ses predecesseurs leur avoient faites. . . . Pour lors ils establirent le Chef de leur Ordre à Boiegny pres à Orléans, qui leur avoist esté donné des l'an 1154, par Louïs dit le Jeune, et le Grand-Maistre prit le Titre de Grand-Maistre de l'Ordre de St. Lazare, tant deça que dela les mers, sa jurisdiction s'étendant non seulement sur les chevaliers qui estoient en France, mais mesme sur tout les Estrangers’ (‘Histoire des ordres Religieux,’ Paris, 1714, vol. i., p. 264). ‘In Kalendario Æthiopum Habessianorum die xx Maii memoria legitur S. Lazarus, Episcopi Cypri, qui secunda vice mortuus est, inquiunt, postquam nempe a Domino a mortuis fuerat excitatus’ (Oriens Christianus, Le Quien, Paris, 1740, folio). But Roger Hoveden’s Chronicle says that Lazarus was Bishop of Marseilles, and was buried there. See ‘Histoire de l’île de Chypre sous les Lusignans,’ par R. de Mas Latrie, vol. i., p. 74; Paris, 1861. The order of the Holy Ghost (du S. Esprit au droit-desir) was founded by Louis of Tarentum, in memory of his having been crowned on the Day of Pentecost, 1352, King of Sicily and Jerusalem. ‘Il institua un Ordre Militaire sous le nom du S. Esprit du droit-desir, plus connu communément sous le nom de l’Ordre du Noeud’ (‘Histoire des Ordres Religieux,’ Paris, 1714). See also ‘Flores Historiarum,’ A.D. 1244, vol. ii., p. 272, in the Rolls series.

<sup>1</sup> I can nowhere find any account of St. Patrick, whether the apostle of Ireland or any other saint of that name, having been in Cyprus. Of St. John I find the following notice in M. R. de Mas Latrie’s History: ‘St. Jean Lampadiste, le Brilliant, l’Illuminé, est, a juste titre, un des Saints populaires de l’île, surtout dans les cantons du Nord Ouest, où il est né et d’où est venu vraisemblablement son nom. Sa vie, peu connue d’ailleurs, paraît n’avoir rien d’éclatant. . . . La Montagne de Troodus, au contraire, l’antique Olympe chypriote, au pied de laquelle Jean vint au monde, a été nommé Lampadiste (Florio Bustron, fol. 32), à cause des neiges qui par une exception unique dans l’île, blanchissent quelque fois ses plus

and there also rests St. John who went with Christ to His crucifixion. Also from the isle of Cypris men go to the castle of Asarimum<sup>1</sup> by the sea, towards the kingdom of Armenia.<sup>2</sup> The whole province of Cyprus hath in circuit six hundred miles.

III. As one journeys further on towards Jerusalem, one leaves the harbour of the city of Phamum (? Famagosta), and goes by sea three hundred miles to the city of Jaffa. There beginneth the main land ; that is to say, the Holy Land. Also from Jaffa to Jerusalem one goes by land twelve miles to Rama, a great and fair city.

IV. Also from Rama to Jerusalem, the holy city, is thirty-eight miles, overland, and there is Christ's sepulchre. There is a great round church, having three exceeding beauteous doors of marble, and in this church is now the Place of Calvary, a great rock as tall as a man. In this

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hautes cimes.' He was called 'Lampadiste,' no doubt because of the fires lighted on St. John's Eve. Cf. Fabri, vol. i., p. 191, and 'Norway and the Norwegians,' by C. F. Keary, Percival and Co., London, 1892, for an account of the midsummer fires.

<sup>1</sup> Place unknown ; perhaps mouth of the Sarus.

<sup>2</sup> The Cilician kingdom of Armenia had nothing to do with Armenia Minor, though called Lesser Armenia in the Middle Ages. After the Byzantines murdered Gagik, the last king of Armenia Proper, one of his relatives, Rupen, escaped to Cilicia, and established himself there. He and his successors were at constant war with the Byzantines, and sometimes in alliance, sometimes at war, with the Latins (Crusaders). They had several capitals at various times—Tarsus, Anazarba, and Sis, or Cis. The last, still the seat of an Armenian Catholicos and a quasi-rival of Etchmiadzin, was Leo's capital ; it is at the foot of Taurus, north-east of Adana. Leo II. was crowned (see p. 28) by Conrad von Wittelsbach, Archbishop of Mainz, in the name of the Emperor Philip, in 1198, and married two Latin princesses in succession. Leo conquered part of Isauria, but it was not held long, and there was no permanent establishment north of the Taurus. The Armenians held the mountains north-east of Sis strongly, and the last relic of the old Armenian kingdom is Zeitun, which, up to about 1876, maintained a sort of semi-independence.

rock there is a hole, which is said to be in the middle of the earth, and in this hole the Lord's cross was set. Christ was buried close to Calvary, and the stone which was put at the mouth of His tomb is a great red one. Above the Lord's sepulchre brightly burns a lamp, wondrously adorned, which goes out of itself every year at the ninth hour on Good Friday, and again lights itself on Easter Day, at the hour of Christ's resurrection. This lamp is said to have been placed here in honour of the Holy Sepulchre by Martha and her brother Lazarus.

V. Also from Jerusalem it is one day's journey or four miles to the city of Bethlehem. Christ was born at Bethlehem without the city, at the place where a church has been built and dedicated to the glorious Virgin, which church is now within the city. In this church all those possessed by devils and all who have the falling sickness are set free and healed in the sight of all men, and many other miracles are daily displayed there. Moreover, every year in the middle of the night, at the hour when Christ was born, all the trees round about the city of Bethlehem bow their branches down to the ground toward the place where Christ was born, and when the sun rises gradually raise them up again.

VI. Also from Bethlehem it is one day's journey to the river Jordan, where Christ was baptized by John. Also from the river Jordan it is one mile . . . to the Mount of Olives, and between the Mount of Olives and Mount Sion is the Valley of Jehoshaphat, an exceeding pleasant place.

VII. Also it is two days' journey from Jerusalem to Nazareth, in which city the angel Gabriel announced Christ to the Virgin Mary. Here also a fair church, called the Church of the Annunciation to Mary, has been built. In it many miracles have been wrought, and they are displayed there even to this day.

VIII. Likewise in the Valley of Jehoshaphat there is a great church built of stone, wherein is the sepulchre of the adorable Virgin Mary, and also a high altar hewn all out of one stone, which is said to have been wrought by the hands of angels. In that church there is oftentimes an exceeding sweet odour, yet not all men, but only such as are virgins, chaste and devout, can smell it. At that church it is said that such large indulgence is granted that whosoever of the Christian faith shall come thither during his pilgrimage on the day of the Assumption of the glorious Virgin, having confessed and repented him of his sins, he shall be absolved from his sins and from the punishment thereof.

IX. Also it is a five days' journey from Nazareth to the city of Jericho, which is a pleasant place, abounding with vineyards, and of a fertile soil. Here the Lord lightened the eyes of the blind man who was crying out by the roadside. On this spot a church, called the Church of Christ's Miracles, has been built.

X. Also it is a four days' journey from Jericho to the city of Samaria, where is Jacob's Well. It was beside this well that the Lord thirsted by the way, and begged for drink from a woman that was a sinner.

Also from Samaria . . .

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#### ANONYMOUS PILGRIM IV.

*(Not earlier than 12th century.)*

I. THE shortest way to the (Holy) Land is from Famagusta, to Akris<sup>1</sup> on the third day, and to Yaf<sup>2</sup> in three days and nights. Akris lies lower down. First of all, from the country of Cyprus one goes by sea to the city of Yaf in three days and nights. Also from Yaf it is three German miles to Ramathha.

<sup>1</sup> Acre. See Anon. ii. 1, and Tobler's note to Theoderich, ch. xlviij.

<sup>2</sup> Jaffa.

II. Also from Ramatha it is one day's journey to the holy city of Jerusalem, which is built upon the Mount Sion. In Jerusalem is the holy sepulchre of the Lord. Also without the city there are three places where Christ prayed to the Father. A place is shown there, beneath that same Mount of Olives, where the disciples sat them down heavy with sleep. Also there is shown the place where Jesus was taken in the garden. Also there is shown the house of Annas, to which the Lord was first brought, which is within the city. Also there is the house of Caiaphas. Also the house of Pilate. Also the house of Herod. Also there is the place where the Lord was scourged. Also the place where He was found guilty of death. Also it was through the iron gate that the Lord bore His cross when he went to His death. There also is the place where the Virgin Mother met her Son and scarce knew Him from excess of trouble. And there are the fifteen steps up which the Lord went to the place of Calvary. Also there is the place where He was crucified, and where the cross was fixed in the rock. Also there is the place where the Lord was laid after He was taken down from the cross. Also there is the place where the Lord was wrapped in fine linen and laid in the most holy sepulchre. Also there is the place where the Lord first appeared to Mary Magdalen after His resurrection. Also there is the place where St. Helena found the Lord's holy cross. Also there is the place where the Lord's cross was laid upon a dead man and he came to life again.

III. Also there is the place where the Lord appeared to the disciples as they sat on Mount Sion with closed doors after the resurrection. Also on that same mount there is the place where Thomas put his fingers into the Saviour's side. Also on that same mount there is the place where the Lord sent down the Holy Ghost upon the disciples. Also on that same mount there is the place where the Lord

supped with His disciples on Maundy Thursday. Also on that same mount rests King David. Also on that same mount there is St. Mary's house, wherein she dwelt after the resurrection of her beloved Son. Also there is the place where the same glorious Virgin sickened and died.

IV. Also there is the house of St. Anne, the mother (grandmother) of God, wherein she bore the glorious Virgin. Also there is the house of Simon the leper, where Mary Magdalen's many sins were forgiven her. Also there are four statues, which sweated bloody sweat even as they do to this day, out of sympathy for the Lord. Also on Palm Sunday the Lord entered through the Golden Gate.

V. Also without the city is the Valley of Jehoshaphat, wherein is the Virgin Mary's sepulchre. Also there is the Pool of Siloam, wherein the man who was born blind, whose eyes the Lord opened, washed himself. Also within the city is Solomon's temple and the sheep-pool. Also without the city is the Potter's Field, that is, the Field of Blood.

VI. Also on the Mount of Olives the Lord appeared to His disciples after His resurrection. Also on that same mount the Lord ascended into heaven. Also in that same place there is the sepulchre of St. Mary of Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

VII. Also Gaffa, where the holy Apostles James and John the Evangelist were born. It is two days' journey distant from Jerusalem toward the north.

VIII. Also Mount Quarentenus, where the Lord fasted and was tempted of the devil. It is five good German miles from Jerusalem. At the same place, too, is Abraham's Garden,<sup>2</sup> where the holy prophets are buried. Also the Jordan, where the Lord was baptized. It is about twelve German miles from Jerusalem.

IX. Also Nazareth, where the Lord was announced and conceived. It is about three days' journey from Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 10; also Fabri ii., 35.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 10, note 3.

Also Akkaron (Acre), where the Lord's Field is.<sup>1</sup> It is three days' journey from Jerusalem, on the same road as Nazareth.

X. Also the Valley of Hebron, where Adam is said to have been buried . . . is one mile from Jerusalem, and Hebron is four miles further.

XI. Also Bethany,<sup>2</sup> where the Lord raised Lazarus from the dead. It is fifteen stadia from Jerusalem. A stone's throw in front of the castle of Bethany is the place where Martha and Mary met the Lord to beg Him to raise Lazarus. In Bethlehem (Bethany) is Simon's house, into which he invited the Lord. There also is Martha's house, wherein the Lord was entertained. This house has been made into a church in honour of the sisters. Also not far from that same house there stands a marble chapel on the spot where Lazarus was raised.

XII. We are shown the path down the Mount of Olives where the Hebrew children cried to the Lord, 'Hosanna in the highest!' and where also the Lord wept over the city. Thence one goes on between the place of Jesus's prayer and the place in Gethsemane where He was taken prisoner, and comes to Golgotha.

XIII. The Valley of Jehoshaphat, wherein is our Lady's sepulchre, protects the city on one side. At this place there is now a church, but it is sixty steps beneath the earth. There is a chapel without the sepulchre before the stone altar, and beneath that chapel is the brook Cedron. It is a damp church. Not far away, fifty feet from the door of that chapel, is the door of another church, which is called Gethsemane.

XIV. At the foot of Mount Sion is the fountain of Siloam, and next to it the bathing-pool of Siloam. About a

<sup>1</sup> See p. 10, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Here, Tobler points out, the description of the holy places begins over again.

stone's-throw from these is Aceldama, the Strangers' Field. Therein there are many famous tombs. There Isaiah was buried. He was sawn asunder near the fountain of Siloam, and his sepulchre stands more than a stone's-throw distant from Siloam.

XV. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is round, and hath the pre-eminence. It is seventy-four feet in diameter between the columns, not counting the apses, which project thirty feet away all round, standing out beyond the outer wall of the church.<sup>1</sup> Above the Lord's sepulchre, which is in the middle of the church, there is a round opening, and (the sepulchre) is everywhere cased with marble without, but within it is bare rock, even as it was at the time of the Passion.

One enters the sepulchre at a very low, small door on the east side. The tomb in the sepulchre is on the right hand as one comes in, against the north wall, and is of gray marble, eight feet long, and closed on all sides. No daylight can come into it, because there is no window, but nine lamps hang there and light up the sepulchre. There is another cave before one comes to the Lord's cave, of the same length and width and arrangement both within and without. As one comes out these two caves seem, as seen from without, to be one; but when you have entered

<sup>1</sup> *Et habet per diametrum inter columnas lxxiv. pedes praeter absides, quae habent per circuitum a muro exteriori ecclesiae xxx pedes.* This sentence is somewhat confused, but presents no difficulty, I think, when referred to the plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The distance across the diameter of the circle of columns is first measured, and then, instead of measuring from the circle of columns to the outer wall, our author measures from the circle of columns to the furthest part of one of the three identical apses which project from the circular outer wall of the church. Measured on Professor Willis's plan, the distance from the ring of columns to the end of any one of the three apses comes to exactly seventy feet. I think therefore that *per circuitum* means 'round about the circle of columns,' or vaguely 'all round.' It cannot mean 'round the outer wall.'

in, you will see that they are separated from one another by a wall. One enters first the one, and then the other in which is the sepulchre. It was the outer one into which the women entered when they said, ‘Who will roll the stone away for us?’ and so forth. This stone was rolled up to the door of the inner cave, and to this day a great part thereof lies before that same door; the other part has been removed to Mount Sion for an altar. Mount Calvary is 108 feet distant from the sepulchre. The place of the crucifixion is a hole two palms deep and as many wide, which will take in a man’s head.

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#### ANONYMOUS PILGRIM V. 1.

(*According to W. Neumann, the pilgrimage described both in V. 1 and V. 2 was earlier than 1187, but the book not written before 1198, or the beginning of the 13th century, a little earlier than Thietmar.*)

I. FROM Accon I went to Caifa,<sup>1</sup> which is at the foot of Mount Carmel, where dwelt Elijah the prophet. From thence I came to Caesarea, thence to Assur, thence to Joppa, thence to Rama, thence to Bethnopolis, thence to Jerusalem, which is entered by St. Stephen’s Gate, where he was stoned.

II. Thence one enters the Lord’s sepulchre, where there is a circle which the Lord said was in the middle of the world. On the right hand of the choir is Mount Calvary, where the Lord suffered on the cross. Beneath is Golgotha, where the Lord’s blood rent the rock and fell upon Adam’s head. Before Golgotha the Kings of Jerusalem are buried.<sup>2</sup> Behind the (tomb of the) high altar is the pillar to which the Lord was bound and scourged.

<sup>1</sup> See Fetellus, p. 48, De Vogüé’s note.

<sup>2</sup> See appendix to Theoderich in this series.

Hard by, down a stair of forty steps, is the place where St. Helena found the holy cross. On the right hand of the choir is the Lord's prison and chain. At the entrance to the holy sepulchre, down a stair of forty steps,<sup>1</sup> is the chapel of the Greeks, wherein is the image of the blessed Virgin Mary, which spoke to St. Mary of Egypt and converted her. Near it is the holy cross, which was found on the 21st day of May ; from thence one takes one's way to the Chapel of the Holy Prison. Over against the holy sepulchre, on the south side, is the Hospital of St. John. Beside it, on the right, there is a nunnery. Near this is another monastery, which is called (St. Mary) the Latin : it was there that the blessed Mary and the other Marys tore their hair when the Lord was dying on the cross.

III. Two bowshots from this place is the temple of the Lord, to which there are four entrances and twenty-two doors.<sup>2</sup> In the midst of the temple there is a great and holy rock, whereon He was presented. Here may be seen Jacob's footprints, and here Jacob saw the angels ascending and descending. Here Abraham made a sacrifice to God of his son Isaac. Beneath the rock is the place which is called the Holy of Holies, where the Lord wrote with His finger on the ground, and where He forgave her sins to the woman who was taken in adultery. On the right is the place where the angel appeared to Zacharias the prophet. The gate which looks toward the west is called the Beautiful Gate, and that which looks toward the east is called the Gate of Paradise, which was spoken of by the prophet, 'I saw water,' etc.<sup>3</sup>

IV. By the way out, near the temple enclosure, is the sheep-pool, where at times the angel of the Lord came down into the water. Near this place is St. Anne's Church, and

<sup>1</sup> Probably repeated from above.

<sup>2</sup> Compare John of Würzburg, pp. 16, 17.

<sup>3</sup> Ezek. xlvi. 1. See John of Würzburg, p. 16.

her sepulchre, and another sheep-pool.<sup>1</sup> As one goes up towards the sepulchre there is Pilate's judgment-hall, in front whereof the Blessed Virgin stood in hiding in the street, weeping and waiting to see what would become of her Son.

V. To return to the temple: the gate which looks toward the east is called the Jerusalem Gate, and along this passage may be seen the footprints of the ass which bore our Lord. Below are the Golden Gates. Before the Lord's temple, on the south side, is Solomon's temple, and at the corner of the city is the Lord's column<sup>2</sup> and His bath.

VI. Near the Tower of David there is a chapel belonging to the Greeks, where are the relics of SS. John Chrysostom, Demetrius, and Martin.<sup>3</sup> Near this is a chapel belonging to the Armenians, where St. James, the son of Zebedee, was beheaded.

VII. Thence one makes one's way to Mount Sion. It was in the church in this place that the Blessed Virgin passed away from this world. Here is a chapel, on the place where the Lord was judged, scourged, and crowned with thorns. This was once the house and judgment-hall of Caiaphas. Above the great church of Mount Sion is the Chapel of the Holy Ghost, where it came down upon the disciples on the Day of Pentecost. The altar stands on the spot where He supped with His disciples. Beneath is the place where the Lord washed His disciples' feet. It was into this place that the Lord came to His disciples as they sat with closed doors, and said: 'Peace be unto you.'

VIII. In the valley at the foot of Mount Sion there is a chapel which is called Galilee, and which stands on the place where St. Peter was when the cock crew. Near it is

<sup>1</sup> This 'other sheep-pool' is conjectured by Tobler to be identical with the spring.

<sup>2</sup> Der pfeiler ist das später als Mohammed's sitz bezeichnete Saulenstück an der Südost ecke der Tempel und Stadt Mauer, in angulo civitatis.—W. Neumann. See Fabri, vol. ii., part 1, p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> See Pal. Exp. Fund, Quarterly Statement, October, 1893, p. 283.

the bathing-pool of Siloam, where the Lord opened the eyes of a man blind from his birth. At this place the prophet Isaiah was buried. Beyond the bathing-pool of Siloam is the field Acheldamach, the burial-place of strangers.

IX. Beneath the Golden Gate runs the brook Cedron, wherein David picked five stones and slew Goliath with them. Near it is the place of Josaphat and the sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin Mary, from which she was taken up into heaven. Near to this is Gethsemane, where the Lord was taken prisoner; and there the print of His fingers may be seen on a wall. A stone's-throw further stands the Church of the Saviour, where He prayed to His Father, and His sweat was as . . . In the valley beneath a sharp . . .<sup>1</sup> King Josaphat is buried, and therefore it is called the Valley of Josaphat. Beside this valley is the Mount of Olives, where the Lord ascended into heaven. There is a stone, whereon His footprints may be seen to this day. Near it is a chapel of the Greeks, in which rests the body of St. Pelagia.<sup>2</sup> There is also another chapel, on the place where the Lord made the Lord's Prayer.

X. It is one mile from the Mount of Olives to Bethany, where the Lord raised Lazarus and forgave Mary her sins. From hence it is twelve miles to Quarentena, where the Lord fasted for forty days and was tempted by Satan. At the foot of the Mount is Abraham's Garden. This is near Jericho, whence it is four miles to the Jordan. From thence to Sinai is eight days' journey.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sub acu.* Probably the text, which is clearly corrupt, followed John of Würzburg, who has *sub acuto pyramide*. Compare note, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> 'Pelagia dwelt on the Mount of Olives in the fifth century, and had her food passed through a hole in the wall. Antoninus saw her cell and her grave. Probably she was the foundress of a nunnery which existed until the invasion of the Persians or of the Arabs under Omar.'—Tobler. See pp. 10 and 73, and Fabri, i. 498, 499.

<sup>3</sup> 'Una diaeta Eusebio auctore sunt xii. pass rom.' Jac de Vitr. lib. iii., page 5 apud Gretzer gibt xii.; Odoricus (p. 155), xv, diaetas an.—Neumann.

XI. The convent of St. Elias is two miles to the south of Jerusalem. Near it is the 'flowery field,'<sup>1</sup> and by the road-side is Rachel's Tomb. One mile from that place is Bethlehem, where the Lord was born and laid in the manger. On the right-hand side of the choir there is a well, into which the star is said to have fallen. On the left-hand side are the Holy Innocents. Beneath the cloister is the sepulchre of St. Jerome. It is two miles from hence to the place where the shepherds abode by night, and where the angel sang 'Glory to God in the highest.' It is twelve miles from Bethlehem to the place of St. Abraham.<sup>2</sup> Here it was that God made Adam, and Adam wept for his son Abel for a hundred years. There also sleep the bodies of the holy patriarchs. It is one mile from Jerusalem to the place where the holy cross grew. From Jerusalem to Emmaus is six miles.

XII. It is twenty-four miles from Jerusalem to Samaria, which is called Neapolis. At this place is Jacob's Well, where the Lord talked with the woman.<sup>3</sup> It is four miles farther to Sebastia, where John the Baptist was beheaded. From that place to Mount Tabor is twenty-three miles.

<sup>1</sup> Campus floridus. W. Neumann says : 'Auch Odoricus (153) Von Gyon weg unam leucam manebant Samuel et Helias, et ibi est campus ubi Helias raptus est in celum, et dicitur campus floridus. Möglich ist es, das es dasselbe Feld ist, welches Bern. mon., 16, erwähnt als das Feld in quo laborabat Habacuc, quum Angelus Domini jussit ei prandium ferre Danieli in Babylon'; cf. Theod., ch. xxxvi. See Anton. Plac., xxxii.; Tobler, Topogr., ii. 573. Mediaeval accounts of the 'campus floridus' vary considerably. Ricoldus de Monte Crucis says, p. 111: 'Inde descendentes per vallem Josaphat venimus ad locum ubi erat ortus, in quem introivit Jhesus. Et ibi invenimus locum ubi oravit, et ubi captus fuit juxta ortum. Et nunc dicitur campus floridus.' Fabri, 543-5; City of Jerusalem, pp. 41, 58. See also Sir John Maundeville, ch. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Compare 'The City of Jerusalem,' p. 55. note, and Dr. Tobler's note to Innom. VII, p. 106 ('Descriptiones,' Leipzig, 1874).

<sup>3</sup> Phocas, Maundrell, and Burchard.

Thence to Nazareth six miles. It is one mile from Nazareth to Sephoria, where St. Anne was born. From thence it is six miles to Cana<sup>1</sup> in Galilee, where the Lord turned water into wine. From Sephoria it is six miles to Saphranum, where St. James and St. John, the sons of Zebedee, were born. From Accon it is six days' journey to Tortosa,<sup>2</sup> where the Apostles built a chapel in honour of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>3</sup>

## ANONYMOUS PILGRIM V. 2.

(For date, see p. 22)

I. THE land of Jerusalem lies in the midst of the earth. It is chiefly mountainous, yet is not barren of produce. It is bounded on the east by Arabia, on the south by Egypt, on the west by the Great Sea, on the north by Syria and the Cyprian Sea. This from the most ancient times has been the common fatherland of all nations, seeing that men come thither to worship the holy places from every part of the world, even as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, about the sending of the Holy Spirit : ' Parthians and Medes and Elamites,' etc. But now people dwell therein, and have houses and places of prayer therein.

II. Of these some are Christians, and some are not. There are divers races of Christians, and they are divided into various sects. Of these, the first are the Franks, who are more properly called Latins. They are warlike men, practised in arms, are bareheaded, and are the only one of

<sup>1</sup> From this passage W. Neumann argues that the traditional place of the miracle must have been Kana el Jelil, not Kefr Kenna—Oesterreschische vierteljahrsschrift fur Katholische Theologie, 1866. Compare 'The City of Jerusalem,' p. 44, note.

<sup>2</sup> Tortosa : Antaradus.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ibi etiam beatus Petrus primam ecclesiam in honorem beate Virginis construxit, quae hodie permanet.'—Jac. de Vitry, 44. Cf. Wilbrand in Laurent's 'Quatuor peregrin.' p. 169.

all these races who shave the beard. They are all called Latins, because they use the Latin tongue. They are pure Catholics.

III. Others are Greeks, who are separated from the Church of Rome. They are cunning men, not much practised in arms, and they err from the true faith and the articles thereof, especially in that they say that the Holy Ghost doth not proceed from the Father and the Son, but from the Father alone. They also use leaven in the Sacrament; and they err in many other matters, and have an alphabet of their own.

IV. Others are Syrians. These are useless in war. For the most part they do not let their beards grow like the Greeks, but trim them somewhat. They do not follow either the Latin or the Greek rite. They are everywhere tributary to other nations. In their faith and sacraments, they agree in all respects with the Greeks. They use the Saracenic alphabet, and in all matters spiritual and temporal they are like the Greeks.

V. Others are Armenians.<sup>1</sup> These have some slight skill in arms, and differ in many respects from the Latins and Greeks. They hold their forty days' fast at the time of Christ's nativity; they celebrate Christ's nativity on the day of the Apparition,<sup>2</sup> and do many other things contrary to the rules of the Church. They have a language of their own, and there is an irreconcilable hatred between them and the Greeks. But of late they have promised obedience to the Church of Rome, since their king has received his crown from the hands of the Archbishop of Mainz, the Legate of the Holy See.<sup>3</sup>

VI. Others are Georgians, and worship St. George with

<sup>1</sup> See note, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Sir H. Nicolas gives the date of the *Apparitio Domini* as the 6th of January.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 15, note 2.

solemn ritual. They let their hair and beard grow long, and wear hats a cubit high. All of them, both churchmen and laymen, wear the tonsure;<sup>1</sup> the clergy wear it round, and the laity square. They use leaven in the Mass, and imitate the Greeks in almost all respects, but have their own alphabet.

VII. Others are Jacobins or Jacobites, who have been led astray by one James into the Nestorian heresy, and do greatly err. They use the Chaldaean alphabet.

VIII. Others are Nestorians, who are heretical in their faith, saying that the Blessed Mary was only the mother of a man, and erring in many other matters. They use the Chaldaean alphabet.

IX. Moreover, the Latins are divided into various nations—to wit, Germans, Spaniards, Gauls, Italians, and the other nations which Europe produces. Three Italian peoples are especially powerful and useful in the land of Jerusalem—to wit, the Genoese, the Venetians, and the Pisans. They are skilled in the use of arms, invincible at sea, practised in every kind of warfare, cunning in the art of trading, and are altogether free from all tribute and toll whatsoever, and exempt from all jurisdiction, making their own laws for themselves. But among themselves they are jealous and quarrelsome, so that the Saracens are safer with them than they are with one another.

X. In this land there are two religious houses, to wit, the Temple and the Hospital. They have an exceeding great abundance of riches, for they have property in and draw revenues from every part of Europe. When they go to the wars, the Templars fight on the right wing and the Hospitallers on the left.

XI. The Templars are most excellent soldiers. They wear white mantles with a red cross, and when they go to

<sup>1</sup> Thietmar, xxix.

the wars a standard of two colours called balzaus<sup>1</sup> is borne before them. They go in silence. Their first attack is the most terrible.<sup>2</sup> In going they are the first, in returning the last. They await the orders of their Master. When they think fit to make war and the trumpet has sounded, they sing in chorus the Psalm of David, 'Not unto us, O Lord' (*Non nobis, Domine*, Ps. 115), kneeling on the blood and necks of the enemy, unless they have forced the troops of the enemy to retire<sup>3</sup> altogether, or utterly broken them in pieces. Should any one of them for any reason turn his back to the enemy, or come forth alive (from a defeat), or bear arms against the Christians, he is severely punished: the white mantle with the red cross, which is the sign of his knighthood, is taken away with ignominy, he is cast out from the society of the brethren, and eats his food on the floor<sup>4</sup> without a napkin for the space of one year. If the dogs molest him, he does not dare to drive them away. But at the end of the year, if the Master and the brethren think his penance to have been sufficient, they restore him the belt of his former knighthood. These Templars live under a strict religious rule, obeying humbly, having no private property, eating sparingly, dressing meanly, and dwelling in tents.

XII. The Hospitallers bear a white cross on their mantles, and are good knights, who, besides their service in the field, take care of the sick and needy. They live under a rule and discipline of their own.

XIII. Furthermore, the land of Jerusalem hath a

<sup>1</sup> *Bauceant*, J. de Vitr., 65. Thomas says, 'Vexillum bicolor quod balzauo dicitur.'

<sup>2</sup> The text is so corrupt as to be meaningless, and Thomas's reading, which Neumann considers to make better sense, seems to me much the same. I have given what I believe to be the meaning.

<sup>3</sup> Text seems somewhat corrupt here.

<sup>4</sup> See note to an article on the Knights of Malta in the *Penny Magazine*, May 28, 1836.

patriarch, who is father of the faith and of Christians, and is the vicar of Jesus Christ. He hath four archbishops :<sup>1</sup> one in the province of Palestine—to wit, the Archbishop of Caesarea ; another in the province of Phoenicia—to wit, the Archbishop of Tyre ; the third is in the province of Galilee—to wit, the Archbishop of Nazareth ; and the fourth is in the province of Moab—to wit, the Archbishop of Petra, that is, of Monreal. He of Caesarea hath one suffragan bishop—to wit, the Bishop of Sebaste, the place where John the Baptist and Elisha and Abdias the prophet are buried. He of Tyre hath four suffragans : the bishops of Acre, Sidon, Beyrout, and him of Bleinas,<sup>2</sup> which is Caesarea Philippi. He of Nazareth hath one suffragan, the Bishop of Tiberias ; while he of Petra hath no Latin suffragan, but a Greek one on Mount Sinai.<sup>3</sup>

XIV. The patriarch hath immediately under him the bishops of Bethlehem, of Lydda, and of Hebron, where Adam and Eve and the three patriarchs are buried.

XV. In the Church of the Lord's Sepulchre there are Austin canons. They have a prior, but vow obedience to the patriarch alone. In the temple of the Lord there is an abbot and canons of the rule of St. Austin. Now, it

<sup>1</sup> Compare the list of bishops in Thietmar, ch. xxix., and Fuller, 'Holy Warre,' Book II., ch. ii., who remarks that 'the bishops were set too thick for all to grow great, and Palestine fed too many cathedral churches to have them generally fat.'

<sup>2</sup> Belinas.

<sup>3</sup> The Latin kings of Jerusalem in the twelfth century claimed supremacy over the peninsula of Sinai. 'Nous lisons dans la chronique de Bernard le Trésorier que le Mont Sinai est en la terre de Seignor de Krak (Monréal, Petra), et que l'évêque grec de Pharan, résidant au couvent de S. Catherine, est mentionné alors comme suffrayant de l'archevêque Latin de Karak.'—Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier, edited by Réné de Mas Latrie, p. 68.—From the article *Seigneurie de Krak et de Montréal*, in *Recherches sur la Domination des Latins en Orient*, by E. A. Rey, Paris, 1877.

should be known that the temple of the Lord is one thing and the temple of the Knights Templars is another; the former are clergy, the latter are soldiers. In the church on Mount Zion there is an abbot and canons regular. In the church of the Mount of Olives there is an abbot and canons regular. In the church of the Valley of Jehoshaphat there is an abbot and black monks. All the aforesaid, together with the bishops above mentioned, help the patriarch in his ministry.

XVI. Moreover, there are the following cities which have no bishops: Ascalon, which is subject to the Bishop of Bethlehem; Joppa, which is subject to the canons of the holy sepulchre; Neapolis, which is subject to the abbot of the temple; and Caifa, which is subject to the Archbishop of Caesarea.

XVII. Now, albeit the land of Jerusalem is throughout holy and sanctified, seeing that the prophets, the Apostles, and the Lord Himself walked therein, yet are there certain spots which men worship beyond all others with peculiar reverence. We will briefly mention their names and merits:

XVIII. Nazareth, wherein the blessed Virgin Mother was born, wherein also, according to the message of the angel, the Son of the Most Highest was conceived in her womb, wherein He was nurtured and grew to man's estate. Bethlehem, wherein was born the Bread of Heaven, whither the Magi, guided by the star, brought presents, and where also rests Jerome, the translator of the Bible into Latin. Jordan, wherein the Saviour by His baptism instituted the rite of human salvation, where the Holy Ghost was seen in the likeness of a dove, and the Father's voice was heard. Also the place of the fast, which is called Quarentena, wherein Christ fasted for forty days, and instituted the keeping of Lent, where also He was tempted by the devil. The Lake of Gennesareth, on whose shores He walked much,

wrought many miracles, and called His disciples. Mount Tabor, whereon He was transfigured in the presence of His disciples, and where Moses and Elias appeared with Him.

XIX. In Jerusalem there are many venerable places, such as the Lord's temple, wherein He was presented, from whence He cast out those who bought and sold, and from whence James, the Lord's brother, was cast down ; Mount Sion, whereon He supped with His disciples and instituted the New Testament—here the Holy Ghost appeared in visible form upon the Apostles, and here also the Blessed Virgin passed away—Calvary, where for our salvation He suffered and died on the cross ; the sepulchre wherein His body was laid, and from whence He rose again ; the Mount of Olives, where He was honourably greeted by the children when He rode upon the ass, and from whence He miraculously ascended ; Bethany, where He raised Lazarus ; Siloam, where He gave sight to the man who was born blind ; the Valley of Josaphat, which is called Gethsemane, where He was taken prisoner by the Jews, and where the Blessed Virgin was buried ; the church of Stephen, who was stoned therein ; and if we look into the writings of the Old and New Testament there is not from the beginning any valley, any river, any lake which has not seen miracles wrought by the prophets, by the Apostles, yea, and by Christ Himself. Jacob's Well, in the land of Samaria, changes its colour four times in the year, being muddy, blood-red, green, and clear. The fountain of Siloam, near Mount Sion, doth not run every day, but only three days a week. In the land of Jerusalem is the Devil's Lake, on the borders of Arabia and Palestine, whereon were once five cities, which for the sins of their citizens were swallowed up. In this lake nothing that hath life can sink. When Vespasian heard this, he ordered seven men who could not swim to be thrown

therein with their hands and feet bound. They remained therein for three days and did not die. Round about the lake are trees which bear exceeding beauteous fruit ; but the fruit stinks, and when you have plucked it, it stinks and of a sudden falls into ashes.

XX. These be the chief mountains in the land of Jerusalem—Lebanon, Tabor, Hermon, Gilboa, and Carmel. Lebanon is exceeding lofty, and separates Syria from Phoenicia. It hath exceeding tall trees, yet not an abundance of them, as of old. With respect to Mount Gilboa, it is not true, as some do vainly tell us, that it never rains thereon because of David's curse.

XXI. This same land contains many beasts : there are lions, leopards, and an exceeding fierce beast called an ounce, from whose rage nothing can be safe, and they say that even the lion fears him. There are baboons, which they call wild-dogs, who are fiercer than wolves. There also are camels, and buffaloes abound.

XXII. There are exceeding beauteous trees of every sort that grow upon the earth : there are date palms with their fruit, and the trees which are called trees of Paradise, which have leaves above two cubits long and half a cubit wide.<sup>1</sup> They have an oblong fruit, a hundred of which grow touching one another upon one bough, and taste like honey. There also are lemon-trees, whose fruit is acid, and other trees which bear the fruit called Adam's apple, whercon the marks of Adam's teeth may be right plainly seen. Also there are sugar-canæs, and shrubs which are sown like wheat, from whence cotton is gathered. Of old there was no balsam in all the world save in the land of Jerusalem, and that was in Jericho. Afterwards the Egyptians came thither, took away the shrubs into Egypt,

<sup>1</sup> Thietmar, ch. xxix., makes their leaves one ell (aune) long and one cubit wide.

and planted them in their city of Babylon,<sup>1</sup> which is now the only place where balsam is found. There is nothing remarkable in the trees, but if they be grown by any save Christians they bear no fruit, and will be doomed to barrenness for ever. There are also cedar-trees, which bear a great fruit, as big as a man's head, but somewhat oblong. This fruit hath three savours—to wit, one in the rind, which is bitter; one beneath the rind in the flesh, which is insipid; and one in the kernel, which is acid. And you must know that the cedar of Lebanon is an exceeding tall tree, but bears no fruit; but the cedar of the sea-coast is small, and bears fruit. There also is a sort of fig-tree, which bears its fruit not among its leaves, but on its trunk alone.

XXIII. The names of the cities and places have gradually been altered because of the changes of the nations who at divers times have dwelt in the land. Jerusalem was first called Jebus, afterwards Salem, wherefore it was called Jerusalem, and afterwards Jerosolyma. After this it was called Elya, from Elia,<sup>2</sup> the Roman who afterwards rebuilt it, after its destruction by Titus, on the place where it now stands. Ebron was first called Arbe, then Cariathiarim, then Ebron, then Abaram, because Abraham was buried there. Ascalon, which was first called Philistim, was a city of the Philistines. Gaza hath always been so called. What is now called St. George's was called Lidda. Caesarea was first called Dor, then Strato's Tower, and is now called Caesarea in honour of Caesar. Caifa was first called Porfiria.<sup>3</sup> Acon was afterwards called Ptolemais. Tyre hath ever been so called. It was once a noble city, wherein Agenor reigned, and from whence Dido came. Sidon is

<sup>1</sup> Cairo.

<sup>2</sup> Aelius Hadrianus.

<sup>3</sup> It is erroneously called Porphyria by J. de Vitry.

now called Sagitta. Sarepta is now called Saffera. Bethlehem was first called Efrata. Neapolis was first called Sichar. Sebastia was first called Samaria. Machomeria was first called Luza, and afterwards Bethel. That which now is called Belinas was first called Paneas, and afterwards Caesarea Philippi.

XXIV. Among other wonders we must not be silent about this, that at Joppa, on the sea-beach, there is a rock Adam,<sup>1</sup> whereunto an exceeding great, nay, an infinite, multitude of the fishes called salmon resort in summertime, bearing long yellow lines upon their backs, and after kissing the stone, as though it were a holy place, depart swiftly. The fishermen of that land declare that when the Lord bade St. James go into Galilee, St. James answered, ‘I will go if that rock will go with me.’ Then the rock broke in two, and one half went into Galilee, where it is visited by pilgrims at this day, and is called St. James’s Pitcher, while the other half remained here.

Furthermore, the land of Jerusalem hath a Latin king, whom the patriarch . . . .

Dr. Thomas, who has given a complete edition of this fragment, has also the following extract :

‘Of the king and his barons. Of the grandees and barons. Of the cities belonging to the kingdom. Of the Prince of Antioch and the Count of Tripoli. Of the divers kinds of pagans, the Jews, Sadducees, Samaritans, Assassins, Bedouins.’

<sup>1</sup> *Lapis quidam Adam.* Compare Odoricus de Foro Julii, in Laurent’s edition, p. 156. ‘Et ibi’ (at Joppa) ‘est portus communis peregrinorum tendencium ad sanctam civitatem Jerusalem. Et ibi est petra quæ dicitur Lomson (?) sancti Jacobi.’—Peregrinatores mediæ ævi quatuor, J. C. M. Laurent. Lipsiae, J. C. Heinrichs, 1864.

ANONYMOUS PILGRIM VI. (PSEUDO BEDA).  
(12th century.)

HERE BEGINNETH BEDA'S ACCOUNT OF THE HOLY LAND.

I. LET us make our start from Chebron, which is Ebron,<sup>1</sup> the capital city. Ebron was of old a capital city of the Philistines, and a dwelling-place of giants; it was in the tribe of Juda, and was a city of priests, and a city of refuge. Ebron was built in the field wherein the Almighty Disposer of Events moulded our first father. Ebron is called Cariatharbe, which in Greek and Saracenic means the city of four, for *cariath* in Greek means 'city,' and *arba* in Saracenic means 'four,' because four worshipful men were buried in the double cave there—to wit, the first man Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, together with their four wives: our mother Eve, Sara, Rebecca, and Leah. Ebron stands near the Vale of Tears.<sup>2</sup> The Vale of Tears is so called because therein Adam wept for his son Abel for a hundred years, and therein at the warning of an angel he knew his wife Eve and begat Seth, from whose seed Christ was born.

Two miles from Ebron is the sepulchre of Lot, Abraham's nephew.

In Ebron is that field<sup>3</sup> whose earth is red, which earth is dug up and eaten by the inhabitants, and is exported to Egypt for sale, and bought as an exceeding precious drug, because it is said to be true that of this earth Adam, the first man, was made. The aforesaid field, however widely

<sup>1</sup> For all this account of Hebron compare Fetellus's 'Description of the Places round Jerusalem,' and also John of Würzburg, ch. xxi., Theoderich, ch. xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> J. of W., ch. xxi. Fabri (ii. 414) says that it was a cave, which he was shown at Hebron.

<sup>3</sup> See Fabri, vol. ii., part 2, p. 411; and Tobler's notes to Theoderich, ch. xxxiv.

and deeply it be dug into, yet by God's ordinance will be found at the end of the year to be filled up as before.

Near Ebron is the Mount Mambre, at whose foot grows the terebinth-tree, which is called *dyrbs*,<sup>1</sup> that is to say, *ilex* or oak, beneath which Abraham dwelt for a long time. It was here that he saw the three angels and worshipped one;<sup>2</sup> that he offered them hospitality to the best of his power, comforted them, and fed them, wherefore according to the old way of belief he was called just.<sup>3</sup>

The aforesaid *ilex* was standing up to the time of the Emperor Theodosius, by the testimony of Jerome, and from it grew the one which is seen there and reverenced at the present day. This tree, albeit dry, yet hath medicinal virtue, as is proved by this, that whoso carries a piece thereof with him when riding, his horse doth not stumble. It was to Ebron that Caleb and Joshua and their ten companions first came when they were spying out the Promised Land; and at Ebron they found the children of Anak, the tribe of the giants.

<sup>1</sup> Tobler, in his note to Theoderich, ch. xxxiv., says: 'This word, with slight varieties of spelling, occurs in Fetellus, John of Würzburg, Odoricus, and Sir J. Maundeville. Probably it is a corruption of the Arab word *duleb* or *dulb*, meaning oak.' Sir C. Wilson conjectures that it may be connected with the Gr. *δρυς*. See John of Würzburg, ch. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> See Sir John Maundeville, ch. vi.; John of Würzburg, ch. xxi.

<sup>3</sup> *Unde prima credendi via dictus est justus.* These words apparently are quoted from what Tobler has named 'The old Compendium,' which is quoted by most of the pilgrims. Unfortunately, I have omitted them in my version of John of Würzburg, where the Latin *Unde et prima credendi via dicta est* is meaningless, or nearly so. I have not met with these words elsewhere, but the incident, with the comment that Abraham 'saw three and worshipped one,' may be found in Theoderich, ch. xxxv. (see Tobler's note), Poloner, Fetellus, p. 8, Abbot Daniel, p. 44, Sir John Maundeville, etc. Probably the sentence which followed this dealt in some fashion with the doctrine of the Trinity, and, being unintelligible to copyists, became corrupted into its present form.

In Ebron David reigned for seven years and a half.

II. Ten miles from Ebron, toward the east, is the Lake of Asphalt, which also is called the Dead Sea—dead, because it receives nothing living. It belongs to the devil, wherefore, by his guidance, those four most unhappy cities, Sodom, Gomorrah, Seboim, and Adama, which went on in their wickedness, were burned up with a flood of sulphurous fire and were sunk in that lake.

The interpretation<sup>1</sup> of Sodoma is ‘silent flock’ or ‘blindness’; that of Gomorrah, ‘fear’ or ‘sedition of the people’; that of Seboim, ‘sea’ or ‘seaport’; that of Adama, ‘desirable.’ Above the Lake of Asphalt, as thou goest up into Judah, is Segor. Segor has three names: it is called Bala, which is, being interpreted, ‘swallowed up’; Zoar, which is a Syrian name; it is called Balezoar by mixing the Syrian and Hebrew together; and it is called Segor, which is, being interpreted, ‘a little one.’ Segor was saved by the prayers of Lot from being burned or swallowed by the waters, and may be seen at this day. As thou goest out from Segor Lot’s wife was turned into a pillar of salt, the traces whereof may be seen to this day. On the beach of the aforesaid sea much alum and much catranum<sup>2</sup> is found by the inhabitants and is gathered by them, and out of the sea is drawn bitumen, which is called Jews’ pitch, and is useful for some kinds of work. Segor is now called ‘the town of palms’ by the people of the country. The Lake of Asphalt divides Judaea from Arabia.

<sup>1</sup> For all these versions of the names, compare Fetellus, p. 11, in this series.

<sup>2</sup> Theoderich, ch. xxxv.: ‘alumen, quod Saraceni catranum vocant;’ so that it seems that there was no difference. This chapter of our author occurs nearly in the same words in Theoderich. Katran, Low Latin *catranum*, Fr. *goudron*. Compare Wright’s note to Sir John Maundeville, ch. ix.; ‘Early Travels in Palestine,’ in Bohn’s Antiquarian Library.

III. When the children of Israel came into Arabia it was a pathless and waterless wilderness. In it the Lord kept His people Israel for forty-two stations<sup>1</sup> and for forty years; meanwhile their clothes did not wear out, and He fed them with the dew of heaven and manna for each of them according to their desire, and meat for their lust.<sup>2</sup>

I have set down the tale and the meaning of these stations here in this book; it is through them that the true Hebrew, who is eager to make his way from earth to heaven, must pass, and leaving behind him the Egypt of this world, enter into the land of promise and his heavenly home.

#### *Forty-two Stations.*

The first station was Ramesses,<sup>3</sup> a city of Egypt, wherein Israel gathered together; it entered the wilderness on the second day after Easter in the sight of the Egyptians, whom they (*sic*) had very cleverly spoiled of their vessels of gold and silver. Ramesses is, being interpreted, ‘confusion’ or ‘thunder.’

The second station is Succoth, which means ‘booths’ or ‘tabernacles.’

The third station is Etham in the wilderness, where the Lord first ministered to the wants of His people,<sup>4</sup> a pillar of fire by night, that they might see all that they wanted to do, and a cloud by day to hide and to shade them. Etham means ‘bravery’ or ‘perfection.’

<sup>1</sup> So I have thought it best to translate *mansio*. The exact meaning of the word in mediaeval times was a place on a post-road where travellers could eat and sleep, whereas *mutatio* only meant a place where they changed horses. *Mansio* therefore signifies a resting-place, a permanent encampment.

<sup>2</sup> The words, which are corrupt, seem to be a paraphrase of Ps. lxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xii. 37.

<sup>4</sup> De Vogüé reads *munstravit*, ‘showed His people.’

Mara was the fourth station, three days after the crossing of the Red Sea. Mara means ‘bitterness.’

The fifth station was Pi-hariroth, which is near Belsefon,<sup>1</sup> and is, being interpreted, ‘the house of the north wind.’

The sixth station was Elim, where they found the twelve wells and the seventy palm-trees.

The seventh station was again beside the Red Sea, where a gulf runs out of the same.

The eighth station was in the Wilderness of Sin, through which one goes even to Mount Sinai. Sin means ‘bush’ or ‘hatred.’

The ninth station was at Delpheta,<sup>2</sup> which means ‘beating.’

The tenth station was at ‘Haylus,’<sup>3</sup> which means ‘leaven.’ It was in this wilderness that Israel murmured through hunger, and took quails in the evening and manna in the morning.

The eleventh station was Rephidim,<sup>4</sup> which means ‘the overthrow of the brave’ or ‘the loosing of hands.’ Here a fountain of water burst forth from Horeb for the thirsty people. Here Joshua overthrew Amalek; here Jethro came to Moses; here the people murmured against God, and while Moses was away made a golden calf and worshipped it.

The twelfth station was the Wilderness of Sinai; this word is, being interpreted, ‘bush.’ At this station Moses went up to God in Mount Sinai, and here the Lord came down to him and gave him the Law written with His own finger on tables of stone hewn out of that same mount. Moses there accomplished a fast of forty days and forty nights. At this station the tabernacle was made.

<sup>1</sup> Baal-zephon. Compare St. Silvia, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Fetellus has *Delpheca*; Dophkah, ‘knocking’ or ‘overdriving.’

<sup>3</sup> Fetellus has *Alus*; Alush, ‘a crowd.’

<sup>4</sup> Rephidim, ‘rests’ or ‘stays.’

On this mount they were taught what kinds of victims to offer, what kinds of vessels to use in sacrifice, what vestments should be used by the priests, and what ceremonies<sup>1</sup> should be performed by the priests and Levites. Here Moses anointed Aaron the chosen as priest, and bedecked him with the breastplate of judgment and the ephod, wherefore he was the first to be called Christ; that is, ‘anointed.’ Here the people and the Levites were numbered and were divided into their several tribes. Here also the gifts of the princes were written down,<sup>2</sup> and two silver trumpets<sup>3</sup> for breaking up the camp were made. There the unclean,<sup>4</sup> who could not eat the Passover in the first month, were ordered to meet and do so in the second. There the Nazarenes were forbidden to drink wine or strong drink, and to eat dried grapes or vinegar made of wine. Here lepers and they who had unclean issues were driven out of the camp. Here the Levites were ordered to serve the tabernacle from their twenty-fifth year, and to guard the vessels from their fiftieth year. Here two silver trumpets were made, at whose sound Israel should make ready for battle.

The thirteenth station was at ‘the graves of lust,’ where Israel became weary of heavenly food, and longed for the flesh-pots of Egypt, wherefore fire suddenly devoured many of them. There the Lord came down in a cloud upon the seventy chosen elders, and took of the spirit that was upon Moses, and gave it unto the seventy elders.<sup>5</sup>

The fourteenth station was Aseroth, where Aaron the priest, and Miriam his sister, took offence at their brother Moses, casting in his teeth that he had married a strange woman; wherefore Aseroth means ‘offence.’

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xxviii. *passim.*

<sup>2</sup> Num. vii.

<sup>3</sup> Num. x.

<sup>4</sup> Num. ix. 6, *sqq.*

<sup>5</sup> Num. xi. 21-25.

The fifteenth station is Rethma,<sup>1</sup> which means ‘noise’ or ‘rushing.’ From hence the twelve spies were sent to the Promised Land, and brought back the bunch of grapes from thence. Here Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Korah, rose against Moses and Aaron, and the earth opened and swallowed them up, they and their families and all their tents, their furniture, and their wealth. Here Aaron’s rod bore fruit and leaves. Here the man was put to death by the people for gathering sticks on the sabbath day.

The sixteenth station was Rimmon parez, which in Latin means ‘the dividing of a pomegranate.’

The seventeenth station was Lebna, which is, being interpreted, ‘whitening.’

The eighteenth station was Rechsa, which is translated ‘bridles.’

The nineteenth station was Celatha, which is, being interpreted, ‘church.’

The twentieth station was at Mount Sepher, which is, being interpreted, ‘beauty’; that is to say, ‘Christ.’

The twenty-first station was Arada, which means ‘miracle.’

The twenty-second station was Maceloth, which means ‘in the assembly’; that is, ‘in the church.’

The twenty-third station was at Taath, which is, being interpreted, ‘fear.’

The twenty-fourth, at Thase, which means ‘malice’<sup>2</sup> or ‘pasture.’

The twenty-fifth, Methca, which is translated ‘sweetness.’

The twenty-sixth station was Asmola, which in Latin means ‘hastening.’

<sup>1</sup> Rithmah, from *retem*, a broom bush. See *Fetellus*, p. 17, where there is a version differing but little from this, of the stations on the way from Egypt to the Promised Land.

<sup>2</sup> *Malitia*. Var. *lect.*, *militia*, military service.

The twenty-seventh station was Aseroch, which is, being interpreted, ‘chains’ or ‘punishment.’

The twenty-eighth station was Baneiachan, which is translated by ‘the children of need’ or ‘of noise.’

The twenty-ninth station was Mount Gadgad, which means ‘messenger,’ or ‘girding,’ or ‘circumcision.’

The thirtieth station was Gabatath, which is, being interpreted, ‘goodness’; that is, ‘Christ.’

The thirty-first station is Ebron, which means ‘passing.’

The thirty-second station is Asiongaber, which is translated by ‘a man’s timber.’

The thirty-third station was in the Wilderness of Sin, which is Cades, also called Cades-barnea. ‘Syn<sup>1</sup> is, being interpreted, ‘holy,’ by (the figure called) antiphrasis, even as *lucus*, a grove, is so called *quia minimé luceat*, because it doth not shine.

Here Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron, died and was buried. Here Moses offended God by the word of contradiction which he spake, wherefore he was forbidden to cross over Jordan. Here, being troubled in mind at the murmuring of the people, he twice doubtlessly struck the rock, as though God could not bring forth water from the rock, and two brooks now flow from thence, and water that part of Arabia.

The thirty-fourth station was at the Mount Hor in the land of Edom, which mount by God’s command Aaron went up, and there he died in the place which is called Beroth, and was buried in Mount Hor. He was succeeded in his rank as high-priest by Eleazar his son. But when Akaan heard that Israel was drawing near, they fought a battle on the spot where the spies had frightened the people by telling them of the size and number of the children of Anak. Israel was overthrown, but they

<sup>1</sup> This seems to imply that English was the writer’s native tongue.

fought again, and the conqueror was beaten in the same place where he had conquered before, and was put to flight.

The thirty-fifth station was Selmona.

The thirty-sixth station was Fynon. These two stations are not found in the course of the history. In them, after Aaron's death, Israel murmured against the Lord and against Moses, loathed manna, and therefore was bitten by serpents.

The thirty-seventh station was Obeth, which is translated by 'magician' or 'prophetess.'<sup>1</sup>

The thirty-eighth station was Ebar,<sup>2</sup> in the land of Moab, which means 'heaps of stones passing away.'

The thirty-ninth station was Dybongad, where Israel did battle with Sihon King of the Amorites and with Og King of Bashan. Sihon is, being interpreted, 'temptation of the eyes'; Og means 'shutting up'; Basan means 'confusion.'

The fortieth station, after Dybongad, was at Helmon Deblathaim, which is translated by 'contempt' or 'shame of streets.' Close by, toward Jericho, is the place Thafon, where Moses wrote Deuteronomy. Here also is the place Cademoth, from which Moses sent ambassadors to Sihon King of the Amorites.

The forty-first station is Mount Abarim, which is over against Nebo. Mount Abarim means the 'mount of those who pass away,' and here Moses died, and was honoured by the Lord with burial there, albeit his sepulchre is nowhere to be seen. He was succeeded in the office of leader by Joshua the son of Nun, wherefore he was the first to be called Jesus.

The forty-second station was in the plain country of

<sup>1</sup> *Phytone*, a corruption of *pythonissa*. See Jerome, ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> These two stations, Ebar and Obeth, are given in Fetellus in reverse order. Fetellus spells it 'Oboth.'

Moab, on the banks of the Jordan, near Jericho, where they pitched their tents, from the house of the wilderness, even unto Bethsarathaim on Mount Moab. While the people abode here it was cursed by the divine Balaam, whom Balak had hired for a price, from above Karnaim, upon Mount Moab, but his curses were turned into blessings. Now, Balaam sat upon the ass, and when the ass saw the angel of the Lord standing before her with an unsheathed sword, she spoke to him by miracle. The aforesaid cave of Karnaim is in Mount Moab. This mount, because of its exceeding steep descent, is called 'cut off.' In the aforesaid plain, Balak, by the advice of Balaam, set women in a house, and built altars before the doors thereof, to the end that Israel might come thither to sacrifice to idols, and might commit fornication with the daughters of Moab, and be deceived. But Phineas the zealous priest stabbed Zambri and his whore together with a dagger, that he might turn away the wrath of God. Here the people were numbered for a second time, and the Levites also. From hence the people went out to battle against the Midianites. Balaam died. At the approach of the children of Israel, the waters of Jordan turned back and stood on a heap before the ark of the Lord's covenant, until all of them had passed over. After this, Reuben and the half-tribe of Manasseh, as they had many beasts round about Jordan, were the first to enter into possession, were brought as guests by Joshua into the Promised Land, to Gilgal, where they set up the tabernacle of the Lord together with the tents of Israel . . . (?) After this Israel was warned not to bring any idols into the Holy Land, or to have any therein. Galgala is called 'rolling away' or 'unveiling.' After this the tribe of Judah took Judaea, and the tribe of Benjamin occupied it together with them. They had already overthrown Jericho, not by fear of the sword, of stroke of battering-

ram, or of brandished weapon, but its walls fell down after the ark of the Lord's covenant had been borne seven times round about it, and none remained alive therein save only Rahab and they whom she chose to save. The half-tribe of Manasseh and the tribe of Ephraim took Samaria. The tribe of Zabulon, the tribe of Naphtali, and the tribe of Aser took the upper parts of Galilee, and in like manner the other tribes took all the lands of the thirty-two kings between Philistia and Idumaea.

Three miles from Jericho, two from the Jordan, is Beth-aglah, which is, being interpreted, 'the place of turning,' because there his sons and his household circled round about the body of Jacob after the manner of mourners, as they were bringing him from Egypt to Ebron. In the wilderness above Jericho, in the tribe of Judah, is Engaddi, where David hid himself. Engaddi, near the Dead Sea, is said to be the country from whence opobalsam used to be brought, and it is said to have grown here, wherefore it was called 'the vines of Engaddi.' Near Jericho, not far from Galgala, is Emechachor, which is, being interpreted, 'the valley of Achor'—that is, of disorder and of crowds—where Achor was stoned to death for having taken the accursed thing. Beyond Old Jericho, and on the east side thereof, is the aforesaid Galgala, where Joshua a second time circumcised the people and kept the Passover. Here manna failed the children of Israel, and they used wheaten bread. In this place also they set up the stones which they had brought out of Jordan, and here the tabernacle of the covenant stood for a long time. Above the country of the Lake of Asphalt is Save,<sup>1</sup> an ancient city, wherein once

<sup>1</sup> In A.V. Shaveh. Gen. xiv. 5 : 'And in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with him, and smote the Rephaims in Ashteroth Karnaim, and the Zuzims in Ham, and the Emims in Shaveh Kiriathaim.' Verse 17 : 'And the King of Sodom went out to meet him after his return from the slaughter of Chedor-

dwell a strong people who were overthrown by Chedorlaomer.

In Arabia, between Abarim and Hor, is Montreal, which that brave lion, Baldwin of Bouillon, the first Count of Edessa, and afterwards the first Frankish King of Jerusalem, made into a strong castle, that it might bring Arabia into the hands of the Christians, and be a bulwark of the kingdom of David. To the southward, in Arabia, is Mount Pharan.<sup>1</sup>

Arabia joins Idumaea in the land of Bostron,<sup>2</sup> which is Bozor, from whence came Barachel the Buzite.<sup>3</sup>

There is another Bozor in the mountains of Idumaea, whereof Isaiah saith, ‘Who is he that cometh from Edom, and in dyed garments from Bosra?’ Beyond Bostron, to the south, looking towards Damascus, is the country of Tráchonitis or Ituraea, whose tetrarch was Philip, according to the Gospel.

Idumaea joins Sedrach,<sup>4</sup> which is below Syria. The head (chief city) of Syria is Damascus.<sup>5</sup> Damascus has three names, which are Damascus, Aram, and Arphat. Damascus is the venerable capital city of Syria. Lebanon divides Sedrach and Phoenicia. In Phoenicia is Sor,<sup>6</sup> that is to say, Tyre, the most glorious metropolis of the Phoenicians, which, as the Syrians tell us, would not receive Christ as He walked along the parts by the seashore, and which, according to the testimony of the sacred page, hath

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laomer and of the kings that were with him, at the valley of Shaveh, which is the king’s dale.

<sup>1</sup> A.V. Paran. Gen. xiv. 6; xxi. 21; Deut. i. 1; xxxiii. 11; Num. x. 12; xiii. 1, 4, 27; 1 Sam. xxv. 1; 1 Kings xi. 8; Habak. iii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Tobler’s note to Theoderich, ch. xlvi.

<sup>3</sup> Job xxxii. 2.

<sup>4</sup> This refers to Zech. ix. 1, where Hadach is rendered Σεδράχ in LXX. See John of Würzburg, xxv. *init.*

<sup>5</sup> Compare John of Würzburg, p. 61.

<sup>6</sup> Fetellus, p. 49; Theoderich, p. 73.

given so many martyrs to God, whose number He alone knoweth.<sup>1</sup> Tyre contains the tomb of Origen. Before the city of Tyre there is a great marble stone, whereon Christ sat.<sup>2</sup> This stone remained untouched from His time down to that when the Gentiles were driven out of the Holy City; but afterwards pieces were broken off it by the French and the Venetians. A chapel belonging to the Saviour's church has been built over what remains of this stone. Apollonius was King of Tyre at the time when Antiochus reigned at Antioch. Reu and Hiram were kings of Tyre when Solomon reigned at Jerusalem. Alexander the Great took Tyre by joining its walls to the mainland, for at that time the sea flowed all round about it. The patriarch Wariamendus, of blessed memory, by the grace of God preventing him, bravely besieged Tyre, with the help of the Venetians, by sea and by land in the time of the Frankish kingdom, and took it, thus glorifying and extending the kingdom of David.

Eight miles from Tyre towards the east, by the sea-shore, is Sarphen, which is Sarepta of the Sidonians. Here once dwelt Elijah the prophet, and raised up the son, to wit, Jonah, of the widow who had given him hospitality and kindly comforted and fed him.

Six miles from Sarphe is Sidon, whence came Dido, who built Carthage in Africa. Sidon is, being interpreted, 'seeking after sorrow'; Tyre, 'trading.' It was from these parts of Tyre and Sidon that the Canaanitish woman came to Jesus when He walked in those parts, and talked with Him, and Jesus talked with her. In the mountains of Sidon and Sarepta is the town of Gethacofer,<sup>3</sup> whence came the prophet Jonah.

Sixteen miles from Sidon is Beyrouth, an exceeding rich

<sup>1</sup> *Fetellus*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Phocas*, p. 10; *Fetellus*, p. 50; and *John of Würzburg*, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> *Gath-hepher*.

city. At Beyrouth there is a statue of our Saviour, made by Nicodemus with his own hands. When, not long after Christ's Passion, this statue was jestingly crucified by some Jews to do Him insult, there came forth from it blood and water, whereupon many believed in Him who was crucified indeed. Moreover, whosoever was anointed with that which flowed from the statue was healed of whatsoever disease he was suffering from.<sup>1</sup>

IV. Damascus was built by Eliezar, Abraham's servant, on the place where Cain slew his brother Abel, wherefore the word Damascus means 'draught of blood,' or 'kiss of blood.' Damascus is in Syria. Syria is, being interpreted, 'lofty' or 'wet.' In the country about Damascus dwelt Esau, who was also called Seyr, 'the hairy man'; Edom, 'the red man,' or 'the red-haired man.' Esau means 'breaking.'

A part of Syria is called at this day Idumaea, after Edom, which is mentioned in the psalm 'Over Edom will I cast out my shoe.' It is also called Edom, wherefore Isaiah saith, 'Who is this that cometh from Edom, and in dyed garments from Bosra?' In Idumaea is Mount Seir, beneath which lies Damascus. In Seyr dwelt Choreus,<sup>2</sup> who was slain by Chedorlaomer. In the land of Idumaea, two miles from the Jordan, is the river Jabbok, which Jacob forded when he was coming back from Mesopotamia, and where he wrestled with the angel, who changed his name from Jacob into Israel.

Two miles from Damascus is the place where Christ appeared to Saul, saying : 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?' at which time an exceeding bright light from heaven shone round about Saul. It was at Damascus that Ananias

<sup>1</sup> This story appears in Fetellus, p. 51; Abbot Daniel, p. 55; 'The City of Jerusalem,' p. 48; John of Würzburg, p. 63. Theoderich, p. 71, tells it at rather greater length, but omits the name of Nicodemus. See Fetellus, p. 51, note.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xiv. 6.

baptized Saul, giving him the name of Paul ; and it was at Damascus that Paul, at his baptism, recovered his sight. From the walls of Damascus Paul was let down in a basket from a window to escape from the fury of his persecutors.

Lebanon is, being interpreted, ‘whiteness,’ and is mentioned in Solomon’s song : ‘Come with me from Lebanon, my spouse.’<sup>1</sup> Beneath Lebanon is Antilebanon, which overhangs the country of Damascus, and fences in a great part thereof. At the foot of Lebanon rise Abana and Pharphar, the rivers of Damascus.

The river Abana runs through the mountains of Lebanon and the plain of Archas,<sup>2</sup> and joins the Great Sea near the place to which St. Eustachius<sup>3</sup> retired after losing his wife and children.

Pharphar runs through Syria to Reblatha, that is, Antioch, flows towards the sea past the walls thereof, and enters the sea ten miles from that city at the port of Solym.

St. Luke the Evangelist came from Antioch, wherefore he was called a Syrian by nation. From Antioch also came that root of sin, King Antiochus, and the illustrious Antiochus, under whom the seven Maccabees suffered, together with their mother<sup>4</sup> . . . and were buried together in Antioch in a venerable and beauteous church dedicated in their names. At Antioch St. Barbara suffered, and in her honour an admirable church has been built therein, adorned with gold and mosaic work, and with many marbles of divers colours. At Antioch St. Peter sat

<sup>1</sup> Song iv. 8.

<sup>2</sup> See Fetellus, p. 24, note, the City of Jerusalem, p. 50, note.

<sup>3</sup> For St. Eustace, see ‘The Golden Legend,’ printed by Julian Notary at Temple Bar, 1503, p. clxxxvi. ; Theoderich, p. 71 ; Fetellus, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Here follow the words ‘ad Augusti.’ I can make nothing of them. Wilbrand of Oldenburg (ed. J. C. M. Laurent, Leipsic, J. C. Heinrichs, 1864) gives a full account of Antioch, but throws no light on ‘Augusti.’ Neumann offers no suggestion.

enthroned in honour during seven years of his pontificate. He was succeeded by St. Euodius, who was succeeded by St. Ignatius, who was brought to Rome bound with a cord, and died there as a martyr. In Antioch the Christians were first so-called; before this they had been called disciples.

At the foot of Lebanon rise Jor and Dan, the sources from which, at the foot of the mountains of Gilboa,<sup>1</sup> the Jordan is formed. In the Jordan, three miles from Jericho, Christ was pleased to be baptized by His forerunner, at the place where His Father's voice thundered above Him, saying: 'This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: hear ye Him.' At this place the Holy Ghost came down upon Christ in the likeness of a dove. In Jordan Naaman the Syrian washed seven times at the bidding of Elisha, and was cleansed from his leprosy. The valley through which the Jordan flows, from the mountains of Gilboa to the Lake of Asphalt, is called Gorrus.<sup>2</sup> This valley is also called Aulon, which is a Hebrew word. It is a large valley with flat plains, and is fenced in on either side with mountains which extend all the way from Lebanon to the wilderness of Paran. Beyond Aulon stretches the valley of Scythopolis. Beyond Aulon across Jordan is Baal, the city of the children of Reuben.

In Aulon beyond Jordan is Beelmon, which was built by the children of Reuben. In Aulon beyond Jordan is Betharan, which was built by the tribe of Gad.

Jordan is, being interpreted, 'descent,' and divides Galilee from the land of Bosron, the chief city of Arabia. Dan flows underground almost all the way from its source to the plain Medan, where it shows its channel openly. This plain Medan is so called because Dan is in the

<sup>1</sup> See Tobler's note to Theoderich, ch. xlvi.

<sup>2</sup> El Ghor. Αὐλῶν. See Tobler's note to Theoderich, ch. xlvi.; J. of W., ch. xx.; Fetellus, p. 25, note.

midst thereof. In Saracenic an open space is called *medan*,<sup>1</sup> which in Latin means *platea* or *forum*. *Medan* is so called because every summer countless folk, bringing with them everything that can be bought or sold, meet together and dwell there, and many Parthian and Arab soldiers to defend the people and to feed their flocks in these exceeding rich pastures. *Medan* is compounded of *Me* and *Dan*; in Saracenic *Me* means ‘water,’ and *Dan* ‘river.’ From this plain *Dan* turns itself into a river, and passes through *Sueta*,<sup>2</sup> where the monument of the blessed Job still stands, and is revered by the Greeks and Gentiles. This *Sueta* is a part of the land of *Uz*, from whence the blessed Job came. From *Sueta* came *Bildad* the *Shuhite*. In *Uz* is *Theman*, which is the chief city of *Idumaea*. From *Theman* came *Eliphaz* the *Temanite*. In *Uz* also is the city of *Naaman*, whence came *Zophar* the *Naamathite*. These three were Job’s comforters. *Dan* bends round towards Galilee, beneath the city of *Cedar*, near the medicinal baths, flows across the place of thorns, and joins *Jor*. *Jor* forms a lake not far from *Paneas*, and afterwards forms the Sea of Galilee, which begins between *Bethsaida* and *Capernauni*.

V. From *Bethsaida* came Peter and Andrew, James and John, and James the son of Alphaeus. Four miles from *Bethsaida* is *Chcrazin*, wherein shall be brought up Antichrist, the deceiver of the world. Of *Chorazin* and *Bethsaida* the Lord said: ‘Woe to thee, *Chorazin*, woe to thee, *Bethsaida*.’

Five miles from *Chorazin* is that most noble city *Cedar*, whereof is said in the psalm: ‘Woe is me that I am constrained . . . to have my habitation among the tents of *Cedar*.’<sup>3</sup> *Cedar* means ‘in darkness.’

<sup>1</sup> Tobler’s note to Theoderich, ch. xlvi.

<sup>2</sup> See Tobler’s note on Theoderich, 229, and John cf Würzburg, xxv.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. cxx. 4. *Cedar*=*Gadara*.

Capernaum stands at the head of the sea on the right hand. This was the city of the centurion whose son Jesus healed therein, of whom He said, 'I have not found so great faith in Israel.' The Lord wrought many miracles in Capernaum, and often taught in the synagogue. Capernaum is, being interpreted, 'white town,' 'most beauteous daughter,' or 'daughter of beauty,' words which describe the holy Church, whereunto all those who come down from Lebanon, which is the whiteness of virtues, are made brighter by her and in her.<sup>1</sup>

Two miles from Capernaum is the way down from that mount, where the Lord preached to the multitude and taught and instituted His Apostles. Here also He healed the leper. A mile from that way down is the place where He fed five thousand men with five loaves and two fishes, wherefore that place is called the 'Table,'<sup>2</sup> as though it were a place of dining. Below it lies the place where Christ appeared to His disciples after His resurrection, and ate some roasted fish with them by the shore of the sea. Across this same sea the Lord walked dryshod, when He appeared about the fourth watch to Peter and Andrew as they were fishing, and there also Jesus said to Peter, when he tried to walk on the sea and began to sink, 'O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?' Here also at another time, when His disciples thought themselves in danger on board of a ship, He stilled the sea. On the shore of this sea is the place called Gergessa, where Jesus healed those who were tormented by devils upon a mountain, from which the swine, into which the aforesaid devils had entered by His commands, cast themselves down a steep place. At the head of the sea, in a hollow on the left-hand side, is Gennsareth, a place which breeds a wind that is felt even at

<sup>1</sup> Compare John of Würzburg, ch. xxvi, p. 68 in this series.

<sup>2</sup> See Anon. ii. 1, note.

this day. From it the Lake of Gennesaret takes its name.

Two miles from Gennezareth is the town of Magdalum, from whence came the blessed Mary Magdalen. This is the country of Galilee of the Gentiles in the tribes of Judah, Zabulon, and Naphtali, from which came Tobias. In the upper parts of this Galilee were the twenty cities which King Solomon gave for a present to his friend Hiram, King of Tyre. Two miles from Magdalum is the city Cinnereth, which was called Tiberias after Tiberius Caesar, and which Jesus frequented in His youth. This city gives its name to the Lake of Tiberias. Four miles from Tiberias is the city of Bethulia, whereof was Judith, the good widow, who to save her people craftily slew the Babylonian Holofernes with her dagger in his own tent, and bore his head and his silken canopy, interwoven with gold and gems, back to the city in her hands. Four miles from Tiberias toward the south is Dothami (*sic*), where Joseph saw his brethren feeding their flocks, and whom they, out of hatred, sold there to the Is'maelites. Dothami means 'fodder,' or the green part thereof.

VI. Twelve miles from Tiberias is Nazareth, a city of Galilee, and the Saviour's own city, for that therein He was conceived and brought up. Nazareth is, being interpreted, 'flower' or 'bush,' and not without cause, seeing that therein grew the flower with whose fruit the world is filled, that flower the Virgin Mary, of whom the Archangel Gabriel announced in Nazareth that the Son of the Most Highest should be born, saying, 'Hail, Mary, full of grace; the Lord is with thee.' To him Mary answered, 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word.'

Two miles from Nazareth is the city of Sepphoris, on the way which leads to Acre. From Sepphoris came St. Anne: the mother of the mother of Jesus. Three miles from

Nazareth, two miles from Sepphoris toward the east, in the tribe of Assur, is Cana of Galilee,<sup>1</sup> whence came Philip, he to whom the Saviour said, 'Philip, he that seeth Me seeth My Father also'; and likewise Nathaniel, of whom the Lord said, 'Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile.'

It was at Cana of Galilee that Jesus, when sitting with His mother at a marriage feast, turned water into wine. In Nazareth there is a little well, from which in His childhood Jesus used to draw water for the use of His mother and of Himself. A mile from Nazareth toward the south is the place called 'the brow of the hill,' down which (His parcnts)<sup>2</sup> would have cast Jesus when He was a young man, because they were jealous of His wisdom, but He passed through the midst of them and vanished in a moment. Four miles from Nazareth toward the south is Mount Tabor, whereon, in the presence of His disciples, Peter, John and James, Jesus was transfigured, and Moses and Elias with Him. Here also the Father's voice was heard, and His majesty shone round about Jesus, saying in thunder, 'This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' He also forbade Peter, John and James to tell any man what they had seen, until the Son of man should rise from the dead. Here also Peter said, 'Let us make here three tabernacles, one for Thee, one for Moses, and one for Elias.' Two miles from Tabor toward the east is Mount Hermon, whereof the psalm saith, 'Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in Thy name.' There is also another Mount Hermon in Idumaea, near to Lebanon. As he was going down from Mount Tabor, Abraham met Melchisedec,<sup>3</sup> the priest and King of Salem, returning from the slaughter of

<sup>1</sup> See Anon. v. 1., ch. xi., note.

<sup>2</sup> 'Parentes' is erased from the MS., but the 'p' and 's' are still plainly to be seen (W. Neumann).

<sup>3</sup> Compare Theoderich, ch. xlv.; Willis, 'Holy Sepulchre,' p. 108.

Amalek, and offered him bread and wine, which prefigured the offering made at the altar of Jesus Christ under grace.

Melchisedec means ‘just king.’ Two miles from Tabor is the city of Naim, at whose gate Jesus raised the widow’s son to life. Above Naim is Endor. On the plain of Naim, between Endor and Tabor, is Cadumim, which is the brook Kishon, on whose banks Deborah the prophetess, with the advice and guidance of Barak, the son of Abinoe, overthrew the Idumaeans, what time Sisera was slain by Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite. Barak chased Zeb and Zeba and Salmanna across Jordan and slew them with the sword, and their army fell at Endor; wherefore the psalm saith, ‘Who perished at Endor, and became as the dung of the earth.’ Five miles from Naim is the city of Ezrael, that is, Zaraim. Ezrael means ‘God hath sown,’ and thereof was Jezebel, that most wicked queen, who took away Naboth’s vineyard, and who also for her evil deeds was thrown down from the top of her palace and died. Her monument remains, and may be seen at this day. Near Jezrael is the plain of Megiddo, where King Josiah<sup>1</sup> was overthrown and slain by the King of Samaria, and was taken from thence to Sion and buried there. On the mountains of Gilboa is the village which is called Zelbus.<sup>2</sup>

Two miles from Gilboa is Scythopolis, a chief city of Galilee, which is Bethsan, the house or city of the sun, over whose walls they hanged Saul’s head. From Naulon on the Jordan, eight miles from Bethsan, are Nemmon and Bethany,<sup>3</sup> wherein St. John baptized, as we read in the Gospels. In Galilee is Zaron, whereof Isaiah makes mention, saying Zaron is in the country of the marshes,<sup>4</sup> where-

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xxiii. 29; 2 Chron. xxxv. 22-24; 1 Esdras i. 25-31.

<sup>2</sup> See Fetellus in this series, p. 31, fin. note.

<sup>3</sup> See Dictionary of the Bible, s. v. ‘Bethabara.’

Sharon. Cf. Isaiah xxxiii. 9 and xxxv. 2, where, however, I find

fore the region between Tabor and Cinereth<sup>1</sup> is called Zaron.

Tabor is in the midst of Galilee, and is a tall mount, wondrous round. Five miles from Jezabel is the town Geminum; and between Geninum (*sic*) and Mageddo is the place Gur,<sup>2</sup> where Jehu, King of Israel, slew Ahaziah, King of Judah.

VII. Ten miles from Genninum<sup>3</sup> (*sic*) is Samaria, which is also called Sebaste and Augusta, from whence came Simon Magus, and wherein is buried the paranymphe and fore-runner of the Lord, John the Baptist, who was beheaded by Herod beyond Jordan in the castle of Machaerunta, near the Dead Sea, and was brought from thence by his disciples and buried between Elisha and Elijah. We are told that afterwards his body was dug up by Julian the Apostate, burned, and the ashes scattered to the winds, all save the head, which had before this been translated to Alexandria, whence it was afterwards translated to Constantinople, and thence to Poitou in France; and save also the forefinger wherewith he had pointed to Jesus as He came to be baptized, saying, ‘Behold the Lamb of God; behold Him that taketh away the sins of the world.’ The blessed virgin Thekla brought the forefinger with her into the Alps, and there it is kept with the greatest reverence in the church of St. Jean de Maurienne.<sup>4</sup> Samaria is the

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nothing about marshes. Thietmar says: ‘Saron distat ab Accon ad tria miliaria versus septentrionem.’

<sup>1</sup> ‘Two miles from Magdolum is the city of Cynereth, which is Tiberias.’—Fetellus, p. 29 in this series.

<sup>2</sup> ‘At the going up to Gur, which is by Ibleam’ (2 Kings ix. 27). See Fetellus in this series, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Fetellus in this series, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> The translation of this relic is recounted by Gregory of Tours (*Magna Bibl. vet. patrum.* ed. Colon, 1618, Tom. vi., part ii., p. 533), in his first book, ‘De Gloria Martyrum,’ ch. xiv., but without giving her name, ‘Nam quaedam mulier de Maurienna urbe progrediens,

name both of the city and of the province. In Samaria is Sunam, whence came the Shunamite woman. Sunam is pronounced Sanym. In Samaria is Tersilia, from which came Manahen.<sup>1</sup> Four miles from Sebaste is Neapolis, which is also called Sichem, from Sichem, the father of Emor. It stands between Dan and Bethel, and from Sichem that land is called Sichem. Sichem was the city of Emor, who ravished Dinah, Jacob's daughter, when she was walking in that country just after having returned from Mesopotamia. Joseph's bones were brought back from Egypt to Sichem and buried there. Near the well at Sichem Jeroboam made the two golden calves, which he caused to be worshipped by the ten tribes which he had perverted and led away with him from Jerusalem. One of these calves he set up in Dan, and the other in Bethel. Jacob's sons destroyed this city of Sichem and slew Hamor, in their sorrow at the adultery of their sister Dinah. Sichem is at this day called Neapolis; that is, 'new city.' The hamlet of Sychar is without Sichem, near the land which Jacob gave to his son Joseph. In it is Jacob's fountain, which also is the well, beside which, according to the Gospel, Jesus sat when weary with His journey and talked with the woman of Samaria. On this spot a church is now being built. Near Sichem is the terebinth-tree beneath which Jacob hid his idols. The Samaritans affirm that above Neapolis stand those two famous mountains, (G)ebal on the north, and Gerizim on the south; but this contention is overthrown by Jerome, who declares that they are in the

ipsius precursoris reliquias expetivit.' Compare the Bollandist life of St. Tygria, A. S., June 25. The name Thecla occurs in the Evangelica Historia of Petrus Comestor, ch. 75. See also Boll. Act. Sanct., 24 June, iv., p. 776. I take the above references from W. Neumann, in the 'Oesterreichische Vierteljahrsschrift für Katholische Theologie,' 1868. See also Fetellus, p. 32, John of Würzburg, p. 7, in this series, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Acts xiii. 1.

land of promise, over against one another, the one above Jericho (that is, Gebal), at the place where, at the bidding of Moses, Joshua built an altar to the Lord of unhewn stones, and Gerizim near thereto, and he says that the voices of men blessing and cursing can be heard from one to the other, which cannot be done on the mountains which overhang Neapolis.

Five miles from Sychem, toward the south, is Thamnaza, the city of Joshua, wherein he died, and where his sepulchre still remains. A mile from Sychem is Bethel, formerly called Luza, which is called Olam in Hebrew. Here Abraham dwelt for a long time; and here Jacob in his sleep saw at his head the ladder reaching into heaven, and the angels ascending and descending, whereat he straightway awoke,<sup>1</sup> and said, ‘This place indeed is holy; this is the gate of heaven.’

He set up a stone for a memorial, poured oil upon the stone, and called the name of this place Bethel, which had before been Luza. It was at Bethel that at the bidding of an angel Abraham was about to sacrifice his son Isaac (?).

Twelve miles from Sychem and four from Jerusalem, on the road which leads to Diospolis, is Mount Shiloh and the city of Rama, where the ark of the covenant and the tabernacle of the Lord abode from the coming of the children of Israel even to the times of King David and the prophet Samuel.

Twenty-four miles from Sychem, sixteen from Diospolis, sixteen from Ebron, thirteen from Jericho, four from Bethlehem, sixteen from Beersheba, twenty-four from Ascalon, as many from Joppa, sixteen from Ramatha, is Jerusalem,

<sup>1</sup> The text has *evangelizans*; the same word occurs also in Fetellus. The reading *civilans*, which gives so much better sense, and which I have adopted, occurs in John of Würzburg.

the most holy capital city of Judaea, which is Sion, whereof it is said, 'Very excellent things are spoken of thee, thou city of God.'<sup>1</sup> It is also called Helia, from Helius Adrianus, who rebuilt it.

VIII. Four miles from Jerusalem, to the southward, is Bethlehem, whereof it is said, 'And thou, Bethlehem, art by no means the least among the princes of Judah.'<sup>2</sup> It is also called Ephratah, wherefore says the psalm,<sup>3</sup> 'Lo, we heard the same at Ephratah.' Ephrata means 'dusty.' Bethlehem was the city of Jesse: 'And a flower shall spring up from his root.'

This was the city of David, who was a type of Christ—David of the strong arm and ruddy countenance. David slew Gcliath—Christ slew Satan; David was of a beauteous face—Christ was fairer than the children of men. Bethlehem is, being interpreted, 'the house of bread,' and rightly so, seeing that from the flower of Nazareth there was brought forth therein the fruit of the vine from the Virgin Mary, to wit, the Son of the living God, who is the Bread of angels and the Life of the whole world. At Bethlehem, near the place of the Nativity, is the manger wherein the babe Jesus lay; wherefore saith the prophet, 'The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib.' The hay from this manger, in which the Babe had lain, was taken to Rome by the Empress Helena, and honourably bestowed in Great St. Mary's Church.<sup>4</sup>

A mile from Bethlehem, toward the north, the star shone upon the shepherds when the Lord was born, and the angel appeared to them, saying, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will.' The wise men came to Bethlehem from the East, led by a new star, to worship Emanuel that was born, and to adore Him

<sup>1</sup> Ps. lxxxvii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Micah v. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. cxxxii. 6.

<sup>4</sup> S. Maria Maggiore.

as the King of the angels, offering Him presents of gold, frankincense, and myrrh.

In Bethlehem and the parts adjacent Herod ordered the innocents to be slain, and the greater part of them lies buried to the southward, three miles from Bethlehem and two miles from Tekoa. Two miles from Bethlehem, toward the west, is Ramaie, whereof it is written, ‘In Rama was a voice heard.’ Beneath the church at Bethlehem, not far from the Lord’s manger, rests the body of St. Jerome. The widow Paula and Eustochium, to whom Jerome himself wrote a letter, rest in Bethlehem. Four miles from Bethlehem, toward the south, is St. Karioth’s Church, where, when he passed away from this world, his monks, whose pious shepherd he had been, died likewise, whereof they had had devout foreknowledge from God,<sup>1</sup> because he had been their clement father—neither did they wish to live in the world after him, so fervent was their love for him.

Their several cells<sup>2</sup> may be seen in the aforesaid church

<sup>1</sup> These words, which are undoubtedly corrupt, occur in nearly the same form in John of Würzburg, ch. xix., p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> *Compagines*. I imagine that wooden partitions are meant. See Tobler’s note to John of Würzburg, ch. xix. In the parallel passage of John of Würzburg I translated *compagines* ‘skeletons,’ and this I find is W. Neumann’s view; but I am inclined to think that the last clause of the sentence proves that the cells of the monks were to be seen in the ruins of their monastery, but that they themselves—their bodies—were translated to Jerusalem after their death. The word *compagines* is once used metaphorically by Cicero in a sense corresponding to ‘the bonds of the flesh,’ but this I do not think is the meaning here. Yet compare Thietmar: ‘Item a Bethlehem ad iii mil. est monasterium S. Karioth. Qui quum esset abbas in eadem ecclesia, et tandem instaret dies resolutionis ejus, monachi ipsius videntes ipsum agonizantem dixerunt ad invicem “Post patrem nostrum superstites nolumus esse super terram” et omnes in presente cum abbate agonizante et monacho agonizabant, et adhuc eo modo carnaliter apparent quo in agonia tunc temporis extiterunt. Saraceni autem propter invidiam ut ipsos incinerarent ignem super eos

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even as they were when they slew themselves on losing their father, and they were afterwards translated to Jerusalem, where their bodies lie entire in a mausoleum.

A mile from Bethlehem, on the road which leads to Jerusalem, which is called Kabrata, meaning either ‘a bed’ or ‘heavy,’ is the place where Rachel died in child-birth after bearing Benjamin, and where she was buried by her husband Jacob and now rests. Over her tomb Jacob piled up twelve great stones for a memorial of his twelve sons. Her tomb, together with these stones, remains to this day.

IX. Jerusalem, the glorious metropolis of Judaea, is situated in the middle of the world. There David drove out Saul, and reigned for thirty years and a half. Of David the Lord said, ‘I have found a man after My own heart.’ In Jerusalem was born the prophet Isaiah, who in the reign of Manasseh, King of Judah, prophesied more clearly than any of the other prophets about Christ, and died a martyr, being sawn asunder, because of the hatred which he had incurred. In Jerusalem is Mount Moriah, on which David saw the angel smiting with his unsheathed sword, who had sorely smitten the people of God, and he, fearing lest the angel should take vengeance on himself and on the city for his sin in numbering the people, fell on his face on the earth in true penitence, and, sorrowing deeply, was heard by the Lord and pardoned. In the reign of David there stood on Mount Moriah the

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projecterunt, sed ardor ignis ipsos non tetigit. Qui in crypta pulchra ejusdem monasterii repositi sunt.'

Sir John Maundeville (ch. vii., *init.*) says : ‘And two miles from Bethlehem, toward the south, is the church of St. Kariton, who was abbot there ; for whom they made great lamentation among the monks when he died ; and they continue still in mourning in the manner that they made their lamentation for him for the first time ; and it is very sad to behold.’

threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite, he from whom David would have bought it, that he might build a house thereon for the Lord, because he had won His forgiveness at that place, and the angel of the Lord had spared him and the city and had stayed his hand there. He bought it, but was forbidden by the Lord to build thereon, for that he was a man of blood. Wherefore he made over his preparations to his son Solomon, to whom the Lord had granted leave that he should build a house for the Lord. When his father died, King Solomon built a temple thereon in Bethel,<sup>1</sup> and an altar, which temple he dedicated with incomparable expense and solemnity and devotion, begging of the Lord that whenever he asked counsel of Him therein he might be heard; which prayer the Lord granted. For this cause the House of the Lord is called. ‘the House of Counsel.’ This temple, I say, was profaned and spoiled by Pharaoh Necho, King of Egypt, in the time of Rehoboam, the aforesaid Solomon’s son. In the days of Zedekiah, Nebuchadnezzar, by the hands of his chief cook, Nabuzardan, ultimately destroyed both the temple and the city, and ordered that whatsoever precious things there were in the temple or in the city should be taken away and brought to himself in Babylon, and also the King Zedekiah and the people.

Afterwards, in the reign of King Cyrus, the temple was rebuilt by Esdras the scribe and Nehemiah the priest, and the people were brought back, led by Zerubbabel and Joshua, the chief high-priest. The temple was again profaned and destroyed by Antiochus, and rebuilt in the days of the Maccabees. It was also profaned by Pompey, who lodged therein when he was fleeing before the face of Julius Caesar. Lastly, the temple was destroyed for the

<sup>1</sup> All the other writers who make use of the *compendium* read, ‘which is Bethel.’

third time, and overthrown down to its very foundations in the reign of Titus and Vespasian.

Of a truth I will essay, as well as I am able, to set forth to all readers of this book the truth of this present Bethel—albeit no man knows for certain by what prince or in whose reign it was restored. Some say that it was rebuilt in the reign of the Emperor Constantine by his mother Helena, out of reverence for the holy cross which she found there. Others say that it was rebuilt by the Emperor Heraclius, out of reverence for the Lord's cross, which he had gloriously brought back in triumph from Persia. Others say that it was built by the Emperor Justinian; others, that it was built by a certain Admiral<sup>1</sup> Memphis in honour of *Allah Kebir*, that is, God most high, which the Saracenic inscription thereon proves to us to be most like the truth. Wherefore this temple—which is devoutly venerated by men of all tongues alike—is called the fourth temple. It was in the last temple before this that the boy Jesus was circumcised on the eighth day after His birth. His foreskin<sup>2</sup> was presented in the temple in Jerusalem by

<sup>1</sup> The text here runs: ‘*Alii a quodam ammiraldo Memphis<sup>1</sup> sub honore Alla chiberti, i.e., summi Dei. Et quoniam ad ipsum colendum ab omni lingua reverende veneratur . . . quod verius fuisse sarracena superscripcio nobis manifeste declarat . . . presens hoc templum (quartum) predicatur. Cujus in penultimo octavo die natalis sui, etc.*

I have transposed the sentences *quod verius fuisse . . . Et quoniam . . .* as suggested by Neumann's note. With regard to *ammiraldo*, Abbot Daniel furnishes the clue, when he says (p. 21), ‘As for the present church, it was built by a chief of the Saracens named Amor (admiralius, amirandus, etc.; bas-grec ἀμύνης et ἀμυράς. ‘On fait venir ce mot de l'arabe *amir al bahr*.’—Littré). So ‘Omar’ became corrupted into ‘Amir,’ thence into ‘Admiral,’ and in John of Würzburg into ‘Emperor’ (Imperator). Compare Tobler's note to Theoderich, ch. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> Compare John of Würzburg, ch. iii.

<sup>1</sup> Text, ‘Nymphis’; Fetellus, ‘Memphis.’ Possibly Amir al Mainūn, who repaired the Dome of the Rock.

an angel from heaven to the King Charles the Great,<sup>1</sup> and was translated by him to Aachen in Gaul, but afterwards was translated by Charles the Bald, the son of Louis the Pious,<sup>2</sup> to a church which he had built in honour of the Saviour at Charroux, in Aquitaine, in the province of Poitou, which he endowed with exceeding great possessions under the rule of monks, where it has been solemnly worshipped from that time until the present day. On the day of her Purification Jesus was presented by His mother in the temple, and was received by the blessed Simeon, who said, ‘Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word,’ etc. ‘O Lord of the Gentiles and Glory of Israel.’ It was in the temple that He freed from her accusers the woman taken in adultery, saying, ‘Let him who is without sin cast the first stone at her.’ And to her He said, ‘Woman, go in peace, and sin no more.’

In the temple He opened the book of Isaiah and explained some of it to the Jews. In the temple He praised the poor widow’s offering, which she cast into the treasury, because she had given all that she had.

In this temple Jesus, while He abode at Jerusalem, used to teach the Jews, albeit they were jealous of Him.

It was on the pinnacle<sup>3</sup> of the temple that the devil set

<sup>1</sup> The Emperor Charlemagne.

<sup>2</sup> *Ludovicus pius*—Louis le Debonnaire.

<sup>3</sup> What was shown as the ‘pinnacle’ was a gable. This seems in most European languages to have been compared to a wing. (Hebrew, *canaph*; Greek, *πτερόν, πτερόγυον*; Low Latin, *pinna, pinnaculum, pignaculum*; French, *pignon*; English, *pinion*.) The identity of these words is proved by the technical term *pinion-wheel*, common to both languages. Compare also Procopius de *Ædif.* ii. 8 (p. 63 in P. P. T. S.); the Bordeaux Pilgrm, p. 20, P. P. T. S.; and the article ‘Pinnacle’ in Smith’s Dict. of the Bible. See also *ἀετός* and *ἀετωμα* in Liddell and Scott. The following passage from John of Würzburg proves, I think, that what was shown to the pilgrims as a ‘pinnacle’ was a gable on the city wall: ‘Super pinnaculum templi, quod reputatur supra latus ciruitus (civitatis) habens subtus se fenestras, quasi pinnas vel cinnas,

Jesus, tempting Him, and saying, ‘If Thou be the Son of God, cast Thyself down from hence.’ Him the Lord answered, ‘Get thee behind Me, Satan; thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.’ From this temple St. James was cast down, who was the first high-priest under grace in Jerusalem. In the temple in Jerusalem Zacharias was told by an angel of the birth of his son, John the Baptist. It was between the temple and the altar that the martyr Zacharias, the son of Barachias, was slain. Upon this altar they were wont, under the Old Testament, to sacrifice turtle doves and pigeons. The altar has since been made into a sundial by the Saracens, and may be seen at this day.

It was when Peter and John were passing through the Beautiful Gate of this temple that he said to the man who was carried about, being lame from his mother’s womb, ‘What I have, that give I unto thee.’

In Jerusalem is the sheep-pool, which, in the days of Jesus, the angel of the Lord used to stir at certain times, and the first sick person who entered the water after it had been stirred was healed of whatsoever disease he was suffering from.

*Probaton* in Greek means in Latin ‘belonging to sheep,’ because at the sacrifices the entrails of the sheep were washed there, and it was red with the blood of the victims who were cleansed there. It was before the sheep-pool that Jesus restored the sick man to health, saying to him, ‘Take up thy bed and walk.’ In the midst of Jerusalem Jesus raised the girl from the dead. In Jerusalem Peter was imprisoned by Herod, but was loosed by the angel of the Lord and carried out of the city through the iron gate, which opened to them of itself.

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statuit Jesum diabolus;’ etc.—John of Würzburg, ch. iv., ‘Descriptiones terrae sanctae,’ Leipzig, 1874. The apex of a gable at the side of the temple clearly suits the sense better than the top of a central spire, which is what the English reader naturally pictures to himself.

In the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, in the valley of the children of Ennon, is the place Tophet, wherein Israel did not blush to worship the idols of the Gentiles. In the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, between the place of Tophet, the fuller's field, and Aceldama, beneath Solomon's palace on the side of Mount Sion, almost in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, is the bathing-pool of Siloam, whither Jesus sent the blind man whose eyes He had opened, that he might wash his eyes therein; and he went thither, washed, and received his sight. Siloam therefore is, being interpreted, 'sent.' Siloam, according to the tradition of the Syrians, is said to come from Shiloh. The stream of Siloam flows silently, because it flows underground. A little more than a stone's throw from Siloam is the well Rogel. Near Rogel is the stone Zoheleth, where Adonijah sacrificed his victims.

In the Valley of Jehoshaphat St. James was buried, and afterwards was translated to Constantinople. In the Valley of Jehoshaphat King Jehoshaphat rests beneath a sharp-pointed pyramid.<sup>1</sup>

Two miles from Jerusalem, on the road leading to Sichem, is Mount Gabaath, in the tribe of Benjamin.

A mile from Jerusalem, on the side of the Mount of Olives, looking towards the Lake of Asphalt, is Bethany. By the side of the Mount of Olives, and joining it, is the Mount of Offence; they are divided by the road which leads from the Valley of Jehoshaphat through Bethphage to Bethany. It is called the Mount of Offence because it was on it that King Solomon set up the idol Moloch and worshipped it. Bethany is the village where Simon the leper often had Jesus for his guest, and Mary and Martha devoutly ministered to Him. At Bethany Mary washed

<sup>1</sup> *Pyramis.* The word is suitable here, and I have translated it 'pyramid,' but it merely means 'tomb' in medieval Latin. See note 1, p. 25.

Jesus's feet with her tears, wiped them with her hair, anointed them with ointment, and obtained the forgiveness of her sins. At Bethany He praised Martha and Mary. Martha was anxious to serve Him, and Mary was attentive to His words. By their tears and prayers He was moved to raise up their brother Lazarus, after he had been for four days in the tomb. Bethany is, being interpreted, 'house of obedience.'

Bethphage, which also was a village of priests, is 'the house of mouths' or of 'jawbones'; the Mount of Olives is the 'mount of anointing' or of 'sanctification'; the Valley of Jehoshaphat is 'the valley of judgment'; Jerusalem is, being interpreted, 'Vision of peace'; Sion is 'watch-tower' or 'watching.'

It was by this path that Jesus went up to Jerusalem, sitting upon an ass, on the day which is kept holy as Palm Sunday. In like manner every Catholic, obeying the counsel of the Highest, ought to come into the presence of priests, who meditate upon the Word of God, that he may receive correction from them and go into the valley of judgment; that is to say, the contrition of true repentance, that he may judge himself therein and knock at the eastern door, which is Christ, the true East, to the end that he may worthily enter into the holy Jerusalem, the heavenly Sion, to be adorned with the robe of gladness, and with Him continually to reign.

It was on Mount Sion that Jesus washed His disciples' feet, saying, 'Do this in remembrance of Me.' On Mount Sion Jesus supped with His Apostles.

Here endeth Beda's description of the Holy Land.

## ANONYMOUS PILGRIM VII.

(12th century.)

## DESCRIPTION OF THE HOLY LAND.

WHOSOEVER would enter Jerusalem, let him ever make for the rising sun and enter through St. Stephen's Gate : there, without the gate, St. Stephen was stoned ; and within Jerusalem let him ask for the places in their proper order.

In Jerusalem is the Lord's sepulchre. At the entrance to the doors of the (Church of the) Sepulchre, without the door, is the Church of Calvary, where the blessed Mary was and where St. John was standing when the Lord said, ' Woman, behold thy son . . . Son, behold thy mother.' Without the church door, on the left-hand side, is the altar of St. John the Baptist. Within the door, again to the right, is Mount Calvary, where the Lord was crucified. Below is Golgotha, where the Lord's blood fell upon the rock. There was Adam's head, and there Abraham offered his sacrifice. On the other side, at the foot of Mount Calvary, is the place and the column where the Lord was scourged, and near it, toward the east, down forty-three steps, is the place where St. Helena found the holy cross. In the church is the Lord's sepulchre, and there, near to it, on the east side thereof, in the midst of the choir, is the middle of the world, where the Lord was laid when Nicodemus took Him down from the cross. On the left-hand side is the Lord's prison, and close by is the place where the holy cross is worshipped.

Near the Church of the Sepulchre stands St. Mary's Church, called St. Mary the Latin, on the place where it is said that St. Mary Magdalen and St. Mary the wife of Cleophas tore their hair when the Lord was put upon the cross, and there is the Hospital of St. John the Baptist.

Two bow-shots from that place is the Lord's temple, built by Solomon, having four entrances and twelve doors. In the midst of the temple there is a great rock, where the ark of the covenant used to stand, in which ark now is Aaron's rod, and the tables of the law, and the golden candlesticks, and the urn with the manna which fell from heaven ; and there was the fire of the sacrifice, and from thence still flows the oil wherewith the king and prophets used to be anointed. Near to this the Son of God was presented, and Jacob saw the ladder coming down from heaven. On the left-hand side of the choir is :

‘The King of kings, of Virgin Mother born,  
Was here presented. This is holy ground.  
Here Jacob saw the ladder ; here he built  
His altar. Well may we hang gifts around.’<sup>1</sup>

On the right-hand side is the place where the angel appeared to Zachariah. Below is the confessional, which once was the Holy of Holies, the place where the Lord sent away the sinful woman taken in adultery.

‘From sin I set the people free,  
If they confess their sins to me.’<sup>2</sup>

There the birth of St. John the Baptist was announced, and there is a column which is worshipped by the Saracens, and which is said to stand where the altar was whereon Abraham meant to sacrifice his son. There, too, is a church on the spot where St. James was cast down from the temple. Beyond this, without the wall of the temple, there is an altar near which St. Zacharias was slain. The Beautiful Gate is as one goes into the courtyard of the temple.

On the other side is Solomon's temple. Between the

<sup>1</sup> These verses occur with but little variation in John of Würzburg, p. 14, and Theoderich, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> See John of Würzburg, p. 15.

temple and the Golden Gate there are trees. It was here that the children carried boughs when the Lord rode upon the ass, and there, near Solomon's temple, at the corner of the city, is Christ's chamber (cradle ?),<sup>1</sup> His mother's bed and bath, and there is St. Simeon's sepulchre.

On the east side, near the temple, is the (Golden) Gate. To the north is the sheep-pool, and there, close by, is St. Anne's (Church) and the well where the pilgrims go. Near St. Anne's is St. Mary Magdalen's Church. To the northward, near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, is St. Chariton's Church.

On the south side is Mount Sion, where a beauteous church has been built in honour of the Blessed Mary. In it she passed away to heaven. Her most holy body was carried to the Valley of Jehoshaphat. On the left-hand side of this church there is a chapel on the place where was the judgment hall and judgment of Christ; on the right-hand side is Galilee, where the Lord appeared to Simon (Peter) and the women. Above, near the choir, is the place where the Holy Ghost came down upon the Apostles, and in that same church there is the table whereon Christ supped, when He said: 'Take, eat, this is My body.' Below is the place where He washed the disciples' feet, and there is the basin<sup>2</sup> which held the water. In this same place Jesus stood when He said: 'Peace be unto you'; and there it was that St. Thomas felt the Lord's side. On the left-hand side is St. Stephen's altar, on the place where he was buried.

Without the church there is a little church on the place where was the judgment hall where the Lord was scourged, crowned with thorns, and mocked, and here was

<sup>1</sup> See Anon. ii, and 'The City of Jerusalem' in this series, ch. xiv., p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Pila*. Clearly, as Tobler points out, the basin for washing the feet is meant. Neumann translates it 'pillar.'

the house of Caiaphas. Beyond the Mount Sion is a church on the place to which St. Peter fled when he denied the Lord and the cock crew. Toward the Valley of Jehoshaphat is the bathing-pool of Siloam, where the prophet Isaiah is buried.

Between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives is the Valley of Jehoshaphat, wherein the Apostles buried the Blessed Mary, and there is the brook Cedron. There also was the country house which was called Gethsemane. There the Lord sent away Peter and the other Apostles while He prayed, ‘Father, if it be possible,’ etc., and there is the garden where He was taken by the Jews. A stone’s-throw from thence is the place where He prayed and His sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground. Near this place is the sepulchre of King Jehoshaphat, after whom the valley is named. There, too, is a church wherein St. James, the holy old man Simeon, and Zachariah, were buried, and not far away to the south is Aceldama, or the burial-place of strangers.

The Lord ascended to His Father on the Mount of Olives, and there He bade His disciples preach the Gospel to every creature. Not far off there is a little church where the Lord’s Prayer was made. Beneath is a church wherein is the sepulchre of St. Pelagia.<sup>1</sup> Between the Mount of Olives and Bethany is Bethphage, where the Lord sent Peter and John to fetch the ass, and hard by is Bethany, where the Lord raised Lazarus and forgave the sinful woman her sins. Here was the house of Simon the leper. Close to it is St. Martha’s (Church), where she and Mary met the Lord.

The road from Jerusalem to Bethlehem leads through

<sup>1</sup> See Antoninus, ch. xvi.; Tobler’s ‘Theoderich,’ etc., St. Gall and Paris, 1865, note, pp. 245, 7; Fabri, i. 499; Anon. Pilgrim ii. 7; v. 1, p. 25.

the David Gate to the Church of St. Elias, built on the spot where he stood. By the wayside is Rachel's tomb. At Bethlehem Christ was born, and there is St. Jerome's sepulchre and the well into which the star fell, and a picture wherein St. Mary is shown with the three kings. In the cloister are the tombs of the Innocents. In the crypt of the Blessed Virgin's Church is an altar on the place where she was delivered. Not far from Bethlehem is the church which stands on the place where the angel appeared to the shepherds. There also is a church on the place where St. Mary rested when she was pregnant of the Lord. At the east end of this church is the road which leads to Abraham's (tomb) at Hebron, five leagues distant from Jerusalem. At this same place (Hebron) the Lord made Adam. Not far from thence was the house of Cain and Abel. Near it is the place where God appeared to Abraham in three persons. To the eastward (westward) is the place where St. Mary greeted Elizabeth, where John the Baptist was born, and where Zacharias dwelt. Two leagues from thence is the castle of Emmaus.

Without the gate of Jerusalem is the Church of the Holy Cross, on the place where its wood was cut. In Jerusalem is the place where St. Peter was in prison. In the temple there is a spring of living water, wherfore the prophet said : 'I saw water coming out,' etc.<sup>1</sup>

It is seven leagues from Jerusalem to Mount Quarantena, and at the foot of that mount is Abraham's garden. Near to that place is Jericho, and two leagues further on is the river Jordan. From that river it is a journey of eighteen days to Mount Sinai.

It is twelve leagues from Jerusalem to Samaria (Sichem), which is now called Neapolis, where is the well whereat the Lord talked with the woman of Samaria. There is the

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xlviij. 1. Compare Anon. v. 1, and John of Würzburg, p. 16.

mount whereon Abraham would have offered up his son. It is two leagues from that place to Sebaste, where St. John the Baptist was beheaded,<sup>1</sup> and where his dust is preserved to this day.

Ten leagues thence is Mount Tabor, where the Lord was transfigured. Near it is Mount Hermon (Hermoniim),<sup>2</sup> where is the city of Nain, where before the gate the Lord raised up him that was the only son of his mother. Toward the east is the Sea of Galilee, where the Lord fed five thousand men with five loaves and two fishes. To the west is the noble city of Nazareth, where the Annunciation was made to the Blessed Virgin by an angel, and there was her house.

These places and others should be worshipped by the faithful.

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### ANONYMOUS PILGRIM VIII.

(12th century; probably 1185.)

#### OF THE LAND BEYOND THE SEAS.

ALL who would visit the Promised Land meet with these places following :

First they come into the city of Nazareth. There the angel made the Annunciation to the Blessed Mary, and she conceived of the Holy Ghost.

After this you will come to the city of Jerusalem, and there without the walls you will find the place where St. Stephen was stoned. From thence you will come to the holy sepulchre, which is in the midst of the city of Jerusalem. At the entrance to the Church of the holy sepulchre, on the right-hand side, is the place where our

<sup>1</sup> Burchardus denies this tradition.

<sup>2</sup> Stanley's 'Sinai and Palestine,' ch. xi., *init.*; Ps. xlvi. 6.

Lord commended the Blessed Virgin to the care of St. John. There within the church you will find Golgotha ; above it is Mount Calvary, where our Lord was crucified. Afterwards you will go from thence to the place where the holy cross was found. Then, in the canons' choir, there is the place where our Lord was laid after He was taken down from the cross and was wrapped in linen. This place is said to be the middle of the world. From this place he was borne to the holy sepulchre, and at the entrance to the holy sepulchre is the place where the angel sat while our Lord was in the sepulchre.

After this we come to Mount Sion, where is St. Saviour's Chapel, which is called 'the judgment hall of Pilate.' Here our Lord was crowned, bound, spat upon, and judged by Pilate. Afterwards you will come to the place where the Blessed Virgin Mary passed away. Then to the place of the Lord's supper, where He gave His commands to His disciples and washed their feet ; and there is the place where He consecrated His body, and where, after the resurrection, He came to them as they sat with closed doors, and said : 'Peace be unto you.' At that place the Holy Ghost came down upon the disciples on the Day of Pentecost. Next you will find the tomb of King David, the tomb of Solomon, and that of St. Stephen, the first martyr, and the place where St. Stephen was ordained. Then you will come to the place where St. Peter hid himself when he had denied Christ.

Next you will come to the fountain of Siloam, where the blind man washed his eyes and straightway saw. Next to the Lord's temple, where Christ was presented and was received by Simeon. Thence to St. Anne's.

Thence into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where you will find the Blessed Virgin Mary's sepulchre, and close by there is the place where the Lord was bound. Then you

go up to the Mount of Olives, where you will find the place where our Lord ascended into heaven. There, too, is the church called ‘Paternoster.’ Thence to Bethany, where our Lord raised Lazarus. There is St. Mary Magdalen’s Church, and there is the stone whereon the Lord was sitting when Martha came to Him. Thence to the river Jordan.

Thence to Bethlehem, where you will find the place where our Lord was born, and there is the manger wherein He was laid. Thence to the place where the angel brought the shepherds good tidings of great joy (Luke ii.), ‘Glory to God in the highest and on earth,’ etc. Thence to the holy patriarch Abraham. Thence to the place where St. John the Baptist was born. Thence to the well at Emmaus, where our Lord was on Easter Day, and they knew Him in the breaking of bread.

Thence to Mount Tabor, where the Lord was transfigured,

Who with God the Father and the Son, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, reigneth for ever and ever. Amen.



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